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BRITISH RULE IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

I PROPOSE in the present paper to review, as succinctly as possible, the constitutional position of Canada within the British Empire. In other words, I shall attempt to explain, not in legal but in popular form, the exact nature of the relations between the parent State and her great dependency, and the delicate machinery by which the supremacy of the imperial State has been made, in the course of half a century, to work harmoniously with the complete system of self-government which already places Canada in the influential position of a semi-independent nation.

It is now a historical fact that the misunderstandings which severed the old Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain more than a century ago, and even precipitated insignificant revolts in the old Canadian provinces sixty years later, have been entirely removed under the influence of a judicious policy which confers on Canadians a system of responsible or local free government, in the fullest sense of the phrase, and gives her at the same time a position of real weight in imperial councils. As a logical sequence of this wise condition of things, the Canadian provinces are no longer a source of irritation and danger to the parent State; but, possessing full independence in all matters of local concern, they are now among the chief sources of England's pride and greatness.

The Canadian Confederation has now been governed for more than three decades by an imperial statute known as The British North America Act of 1867. This fundamental law of the Dominion sets forth its territorial divisions, defines the nature of the executive author-

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ity, regulates the division of powers, directs to what authorities these powers are to be confided, and provides generally for the administration and management of all those matters which fall within the respective jurisdictions of the Dominion and the provinces. In accordance with this constitution, Canada has now control of the government of a vast territory, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the north of the United States, which is subject to the sovereignty of the King and the Parliament of Great Britain in such matters only as naturally fall under the jurisdiction of the supreme and absolute authority of the sovereign State.

If we come to recapitulate the various constitutional authorities which now govern the Dominion in its external and internal relations as a dependency of the Crown, we find that they may be divided for general purposes as follows:

1. The King.
2. The Parliament of Great Britain.
3. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.
4. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, special adviser of the King in colonial affairs.
5. The Government of the Dominion.
6. The Governments of the Provinces.
7. The Courts of Canada.

We see that at the head of the executive power of the Dominion is the King of England, guided and advised by his privy council, whose history is co-existent with that of the regal authority itself. Through this privy council, of which the cabinet is only a committee, the sovereign exercises that control over Canada and every other colonial dependency which is necessary for the preservation of the unity of the Empire and the observance of the obligations that rest upon it as a whole. Every act of the Parliament of Canada is subject to the review of the King in council, and may be carried from the Canadian courts, under certain legal limitations, to the judicial committee of the privy council, one of the committees which still represent the judicial powers of the ancient privy council of England.

The Parliament of Great Britain — a sovereign body limited by none of the constitutional or legal checks which restrict the legislative power of the United States Congress — can still, and does actually, legislate, from time to time, for Canada and the other colonies of the Empire. From a purely legal standpoint, the legislative authority of this great assembly has no limitation; and it might be carried so far as not merely to restrain any of the legal powers of the Dominion as set forth in the British North

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America Act of 1867, but even to repeal the provisions of that imperial statute, in whole or in part.

But while the sovereign of Great Britain, acting with the advice of the privy council and of the great legislative council of the realm, is legally the paramount authority in Canada as in all other portions of the Empire, his prerogatives are practically restrained within certain well understood limits, so far as concerns those countries to which have been extended legislative institutions and a very liberal system of local self-government. It is now a recognized maxim of parliamentary law that it is unconstitutional for the imperial Parliament to legislate for the domestic affairs of a colony which has a legislature of its own. In any review of the legislative acts of the Dominion, the Government of England has for many years past fully recognized those principles of self-government which form the basis of the political freedom of Canada. No act of the Parliament of the Dominion can now be disallowed unless it is in direct conflict with imperial treaties to which the pledge of England has been solemnly given, or with a statute of the imperial legislature which applies directly to the dependency.

The general rule is that no act of the imperial Parliament binds the colonies unless an intention so to bind them appears either by express words or necessary implication. The imperial Parliament may legislate in matters immediately affecting Canada; but it is understood that it does so, as a rule, only in response to addresses of her people through their own Parliament, in order to give validity to the acts of the latter in cases where the British North America Act of 1867 is silent or has to be supplemented by additional imperial legislation.

That act itself was not a voluntary effort of imperial authority, but owes its origin to the solemn expression of the desire of the several legislatures of the provinces, as shown by addresses to the Crown asking for an extension of their political privileges. Within the defined territorial limits of those powers which have been granted by the imperial Parliament to the Dominion and the provinces, each legislative authority can exercise powers as plenary and ample as those of the imperial Parliament itself acting within the sphere of its extended legislative authority. Between the parent State and its Canadian dependency there is even now a loose system of federation under which each governmental authority exercises certain administrative and legislative functions within its own constitutional limits, while the central authority controls all the members of the federation so as to give that measure of unity and strength without which the Empire could not keep together.

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Each Government acts within the limits of its defined legislative authority with respect to those matters which are of purely local concern; and it is only when the interests of the Empire are in direct antagonism with the privileges extended to the colonial dependency that the sovereign authority is to prevail. This sovereign authority can never be exercised arbitrarily, but is to be the result of discussion and deliberation; so that the interests of the parent State and the dependency may be brought as far as possible into harmony with one another.

The law, written and unwritten, provides methods for agreement or compromise between the authorities of the parent State and those of its dependencies. In matters of law, the privy council is guided by various rules which wisely restrict appeals from the dependency within certain definite limits. In matters of legislation and administration on which there may be a variance of opinion between the Canadian and the English Governments, the means of communication are the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The former, as an imperial officer responsible to the Crown for the performance of his high functions, and as the representative of the sovereign in the dependency, will lay before the Secretary of State the opinions and suggestions of his advisers on every question which affects the interests of Canada and requires much deliberation in order to arrive at a fair and satisfactory adjustment.

The position of Secretary of State for the Colonies — practically an imperial ruler — is generally held by Englishmen of high attainments and large administrative and political experience: for instance, in the past by Lord John Russell, Earl Grey, Mr. Gladstone, the Derbys, the Earl of Carnarvon, and now by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the most prominent figure in British politics at the beginning of the new century. In the administration of this high imperial office, its political head is aided by a body of permanent officials, possessing large knowledge of the affairs of the dependencies of the Crown, versed in all the laws, conventions, and understandings that govern the action of the office, and consequently able to instruct their superior with intelligence on all questions requiring skilful and discreet adjustment. The Governor-General, now the only Canadian official appointed directly by the British Government, has no connection whatever with parties in the dependency, but is able to bring to the consideration of imperial questions the most impartial judgment.

It may be contended that there is no absolute, written law to govern these relations, to restrain the imperial Government in its consideration of Canadian questions, *i.e.*, to give a positive legal independence to the Canadian Government in any respect whatever. But, in answer to this

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purely arbitrary contention, it may be argued, with obvious truth, that when the imperial Parliament gave the Canadians a complete system of local government and the right to legislate on certain subjects set forth in the fundamental law of the dependency (the British North America Act), it gave them full jurisdiction over all such matters, and constitutionally withdrew from all interference in the local concerns of the colony. More than that, in addition to the obvious intent and purpose of the written constitution of the Dominion, there are certain conventions and understandings which appear in the instructions laid down by the imperial authorities themselves, from time to time, for the self-government of these colonial communities, since the concession of responsible government. These conventions and understandings have as much force as any written statute, and control the relations between England and Canada in such a manner as to give the latter practically the unrestricted direction of every local matter and the right of legislating on every question sanctioned by the terms of the constitutional law.

The British North America Act, then, recognizes in a practically unrestricted sense the right of Canada to govern herself, subject only to the general control of the sovereign authority of the Empire. This act establishes a federal system which gives control over Dominion matters to the central executive and legislative authority, and permits the governments of the provinces to exercise certain defined municipal and local powers within provincial limits, compatible with the existence of the wide national authority entrusted to the Federal Government. Within its local statutory sphere, each provincial entity can exercise powers as plenary and absolute as the Dominion itself within the wide area of its legislative jurisdiction. For the settlement of questions of doubtful jurisdiction, the constitution provides a remedy in a reference to the courts — on whose decision must always largely rest the security of a federal system — and to a minor degree in the power possessed by the Dominion Government of disallowing provincial acts; a power, however, only to be exercised in cases of grave emergency or of positive conflict with the law and the constitution.

The Crown exercises a certain supervision over the affairs of the Dominion through a Governor-General, who communicates directly with an imperial Secretary of State; but on every matter directly affecting Canada — as, for instance, in negotiations respecting the fisheries, the Bering Sea, the Alaskan boundary, and other matters considered by several conferences at Washington — the Canadian Government is consulted, and its statements are carefully considered, since they represent the sentiments

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and interests of the Canadian people, who, as citizens of the Empire, are entitled to as much weight as if they lived in the British Isles. Not only is Canada consulted, but her right to be represented adequately on every commission or arbitration affecting her special interests has been fully admitted of late years, in acknowledgment of her remarkable political development, and in accordance with the steady growth of a dominant imperial sentiment in the parent state.[1]

In the administration of Canadian affairs, the Governor-General is advised by a responsible council, representing the majority of the House of Commons — the elective body of Parliament. As in England, the Canadian cabinet, or ministry, is practically a committee of the dominant party in Parliament, and is governed by the rules, conventions, and usages of parliamentary government which have grown up gradually in the parent State. Whenever it is necessary to form a ministry in Canada, its members are summoned by the Governor-General to the privy council of Canada — another illustration of the desire of the Canadians to imitate the old institutions of England and to copy her time-honored procedure.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Governor-General is a mere *roi fainéant*, and a mere ornamental portion of our political system, to be set to work and kept in motion by his council. Lord Elgin, the ablest of constitutional governors, has left it on record that in Jamaica, where there was no responsible government, he had not "half the power" he had in Canada, "with a constitutional and changing cabinet." This influence, however, was "wholly moral, an influence of suasion, sympathy, and moderation, which softens the temper while it elevates the aims of local politics." If the Governor-General is a man of parliamentary experience and constitutional knowledge, possessing tact and judgment, and imbued with the true spirit of his high vocation — and these high functionaries have been notably so since the commencement of Confederation — he can sensibly influence, in the way Lord Elgin points out, the course of administration and benefit the country at critical periods of its history.

Standing above all party, having the unity of the Empire at heart, a Governor-General can at times soothe the public mind, and give additional confidence to the country, when it is threatened with some national calamity, or there is distrust abroad as to the future. As an imperial officer he has large responsibilities of which the general public have naturally no very clear idea. And if it were possible to obtain access to the confidential and secret despatches which seldom see the light in the colonial

[1] See my article in THE FORUM for May, 1898, on "Canada's Relations with the United States and her Influence in Imperial Councils."

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office — certainly not in the life-time of the men who wrote them — it would be seen how much, for half a century past, the colonial department has gained by having had in British North America men no longer acting under the influence of personal feeling through being made personally responsible for the conduct of public affairs, but actuated simply by a desire to benefit the country over which they preside, and to bring Canadian interests into union with those of the Empire itself.

The Parliament of Canada consists of the King, the Senate, and the House of Commons. In the formation of the upper house, three geographical groups were arranged in the first instance — Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces — and each group received a representation of twenty-four members. More recently other provinces have been admitted into the Dominion without reference to this arrangement; and now seventy-eight senators altogether may sit in Parliament. The remarkably long tenure of power enjoyed by the Conservative party — twenty-five years from 1867 — enabled it, in the course of time, to fill the upper house with a very large numerical majority of its own friends.

This fact, taken in connection with certain elements of weakness inherent in a chamber which is not elected by the people, and which has none of the ancient privileges or prestige of a House of Lords long associated with the names of great statesmen and the memorable events of English history, has created an agitation among the Liberal party for radical changes in its constitution which would bring it, in their opinion, more in harmony with the people's representatives in the popular branch of the general legislature. While some extremists would abolish the chamber, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other prominent Liberals recognize its necessity in our parliamentary system.

The House of Commons, the great governing body of the Dominion, has been made, so far as circumstances will permit, a copy of the English house. Its members are not required to have a property qualification; and they are elected by the votes of the electors of the several provinces, where, in a majority of cases, universal suffrage, under limitations of citizenship and residence, prevails.

In each province there is a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the Dominion Government for five years, an executive council, and a legislature consisting of one house only, except in Nova Scotia and Quebec, where a legislative council appointed by the Crown still continues. The principles of responsible government exist in all the provinces, and practically in the Northwest Territory.

In the enumeration of the legislative powers respectively given to

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the Dominion and provincial legislatures, an effort was made to avoid the conflicts of jurisdiction that have so frequently arisen between the National and State Governments of the United States. In the first place, we have a recapitulation of those general or national powers that properly belong to the central authority, such as customs and excise duties, regulation of trade and commerce, militia and defence, post-office, banking and coinage, railways and public works "for the general advantage," navigation and shipping, naturalization and aliens, fisheries, weights and measures, marriage and divorce, penitentiaries, criminal law, census and statistics. On the other hand, the provinces have retained control over municipal institutions, public lands, local works and undertakings, incorporation of companies with provincial objects, property and civil rights, administration of justice, and generally "all matters of a merely local and private nature in the province." The residuary power of legislation rests with the general Parliament of Canada.

In 1875, the Parliament of Canada established a supreme court, or general court of appeal, for Canada, the highest function of which is to decide questions as to the respective legislative powers of the Dominion and provincial parliaments which are referred to it, in due process of law, by the subordinate courts of the provinces. The decisions of this court are already doing much to solve difficulties which impede the successful operation of the constitution. As a rule, cases come before the supreme court on appeal from the lower courts; but the law regulating its powers provides that the Governor-General in council may refer to this court any matter on which a question of constitutional jurisdiction has been raised. But the supreme court of Canada is not necessarily the court of last resort. The people have an inherent right, as subjects of the King, to appeal to the judicial committee of the privy council of the United Kingdom.

But it is not only by means of the courts that a check is imposed upon hasty or unconstitutional legislation. The constitution provides that the Governor-General may veto or reserve any bill passed by the two houses of Parliament when it conflicts with imperial interests or imperial legislation. It is now understood that the reserve power of disallowance which His Majesty's Government possesses under the law is sufficient to meet all possible cases. The sovereign power is never exercised except in the case of an act clearly in conflict with an imperial statute or in violation of a treaty affecting a foreign nation. The Dominion Government also supervises all the provincial legislation, and has, in a few cases, disallowed provincial acts. This power is exercised very carefully, and is regarded with intense jealousy by the provincial governments, which have

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more than once attempted to set it at defiance. In practice it is found the wisest course to leave to the courts the decision in cases where doubt exists as to the constitutional authority or jurisdiction.

The organized districts of the Northwest — Assiniboia, Alberta, Athabaska, and Saskatchewan — are governed by a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the Government of Canada, and aided by a council chosen by himself from an assembly elected by the people under a very liberal franchise. These territories have also representatives in the two houses of the Parliament of Canada. The Yukon territory, in the far Northwest, where rich discoveries of gold have attracted a large number of people within the last two years, is placed under a provisional government, composed of a commissioner and a council, partly elected by the people and partly appointed by the Dominion Government, and acting under instructions given from time to time by the same authority or by the Minister of the Interior. The public service enjoys all the advantages that arise from permanency of tenure and appointment by the Crown. On the whole, it has been creditable to the country and remarkably free from political influences.

The criminal law of England has prevailed in all the provinces since it was formally introduced by the Quebec Act of 1774; but the civil law of the French régime has continued to be the legal system in French Canada since that act took effect, and has now obtained a hold in that province which insures its permanence as an institution closely allied with the dearest rights of the people. Its principles and maxims have been carefully collected and enacted in a code which is based on the famous Code Napoleon. In the other provinces and territories, the common law of England forms the basis of jurisprudence on which a large body of Canadian statutory law has been built in the course of time.

At the present time, all the provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, have an excellent municipal system, which enables every defined district, large or small, to carry on efficiently all those public improvements essential to the comfort, convenience, and general necessities of the different communities that make up the province at large. Even in the territories of the Northwest, every proper facility is given to the people in a populous district or town to organize a system equal to all their local requirements.

Every Englishman will consider it an interesting and encouraging fact that the Canadian people, despite their neighborhood to a prosperous federal commonwealth, should not have shown any disposition, even in the most gloomy periods of their history, to mould their institutions directly

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on those of the United States, and lay the foundation for future political union. Previous to 1840, which was the commencement of a new era in the political history of the provinces, there was a time when discontent prevailed throughout the Canadas; but not even then did any large body of the people threaten to sever the connection with the parent State. The Act of Confederation was framed under the direct influence of Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier; and, although one was an English-Canadian and the other a French-Canadian, neither fell short of the other in the desire to build up a Dominion on the basis of English institutions, in the closest possible connection with the mother country.

While the question of union was under consideration, it was English statesmen and writers alone who predicted that this new federation, with its great extent of territory, its abundant resources, and ambitious people, would eventually form a new nation independent of Great Britain. Canadian statesmen never spoke or wrote of separation, but regarded the constitutional change in their political condition as giving them greater weight and strength in the Empire. The influence of British example on the Canadian Dominion can be seen throughout its governmental machinery — in the system of parliamentary government, in the constitution of the privy council and the Houses of Parliament, in an independent judiciary, in appointed officials of every class, in the provincial as well as Dominion system, in a permanent and non-political civil service, and in all the elements of sound administration.

During the thirty-three years that have passed since 1867, the attachment to England and her institutions has gained in strength; and it is clear that those predictions of Englishmen to which I have referred have been completely falsified. The war in South Africa has given remarkable proof of the power of this attachment. The dominant sentiment is for strengthening the ties that have in some respects become weak in consequence of the enlargement of the political rights of the Dominion, which has assumed the position of a semi-independent power, since England now only retains her imperial sovereignty by declaring peace or war with foreign nations, by appointing a Governor-General, by controlling colonial legislation through the King in council and the King in Parliament — but not so as to diminish the rights of local self-government conceded to the Dominion — and by requiring that all treaties with foreign nations should be made through her own Government, while recognizing the right of the dependency to be consulted and directly represented on all occasions when its interests are immediately affected.

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In no respect have the Canadians followed the example of the United States, and made their executive entirely separate from the legislative authority. On the contrary, there is no institution which works more admirably in the federation—in the general government as well as in the provincial governments—than the principle of making the ministry responsible to the popular branch of the legislature, in that way keeping the executive and legislative departments in harmony with each other, and preventing that conflict of authorities which is a distinguishing feature of the very opposite system that prevails in the Federal Republic.

If we review the amendments made of late years in the political constitutions of the States, and especially those ratified not long since in New York, we see in how many respects the Canadian system of government is superior to that of the Republic. For instance, Canada has enjoyed for years, as results of responsible government, the secret ballot; stringent laws against bribery and corruption at all classes of elections; the registration of voters; strict naturalization laws; infrequent political elections; separation of municipal from provincial or national contests; appointive and permanent officials in every branch of the civil service; a carefully devised code of private bill legislation, and the printing of all public as well as private bills before their consideration by the legislative bodies.[1]

Of course, in the methods of party government we can see in Canada at times an attempt to follow the example of the United States, and to introduce the party machine with its professional politicians and all those influences that have degraded politics since the days of Jackson and Van Buren. Happily, so far, the people of Canada have proved themselves fully capable of removing those blots that show themselves from time to time on the body politic. Justice has soon seized those men who have betrayed their trust in the administration of public affairs.

Although, according to their political proclivities, Canadians may find fault with some methods of government and be carried away at times by political passion beyond the bounds of reason, it is encouraging to find that all are ready to admit the high character of the judiciary for learning, integrity, and incorruptibility. The records of Canada do not present a single instance of the successful impeachment or removal of a judge for improper conduct on the bench since the days of responsible government; and the three or four petitions laid before Parliament, in the course of a quarter of a century, asking for an investigation into vague charges against some judges, have never required a judgment of the house.

[1] I enter somewhat fully into this subject in an article in THE FORUM for May, 1895.

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Canadians built wisely when, in the formation of their constitution, they followed the English plan of retaining an intimate and invaluable connection between the executive and legislative departments, and of keeping the judiciary practically independent of the other authorities of government. The life and prosperity of the people, as well as the satisfactory working of the whole system of Federal Government, rest more or less on the discretion and integrity of the judges. Canadians are satisfied that the peace and security of the whole Dominion do not more depend on the ability and patriotism of statesmen in the legislative halls than on that principle of their constitution which places the judiciary in an exalted position among all the other departments of Government, and makes law as far as possible the arbiter of their constitutional conflicts.

In comparing the federal constitution of the Australian Commonwealth with that of the Canadian Dominion, we must be impressed by the fact that the constitution of Canada appears more influenced by the spirit of English ideas than the constitution of Australia, which has copied some features of the fundamental law of the United States. In the preamble of the Canadian British North America Act, we find expressly stated "the desire of the Canadian provinces to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom," while the preamble of the Australian constitution contains only a bald statement of an agreement "to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown."

When we consider the use of "Commonwealth" — a word of republican significance to British ears — as well as the selection of "State" instead of "Province," of "House of Representatives" instead of "House of Commons," of "executive council" instead of "privy council," we may well wonder why the Australians, all British by origin and aspiration, should have shown an inclination to deviate from the precedents established by the Canadian Dominion, which, though only partly English, resolved to carve the ancient historic names of the parent State on the very front of its political structure.

As the several States of the Commonwealth have full control of their own constitutions, they may choose at any moment to elect their own governors, as do the States of the American Union, instead of having them appointed by the Crown, as in Canada. We see also an imitation of the American constitution in the principle which allots to the central Government only certain enumerated powers, and leaves the residuary power of legislation to the States. Again, while the act provides for a high court

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and other federal courts, the members of which are to be appointed and removed as in Canada by the central Government, the States are still to have full jurisdiction over the State courts as in the United States.

The Canadian constitution, which gives to the Dominion exclusive control over the appointment and removal of the judges of all the superior courts, offers a positive guarantee against the popular election of judges in the provinces. It is not going too far to suppose that, with the progress of democratic ideas in Australia — a country inclined to political experiments — we may find the experience of the United States repeated, and see elective judges make their appearance when a wave of democracy has suddenly swept away all dictates of prudence and given unbridled license to professional political managers anxious for the success of party only.

In allowing the British Parliament to amend the Act of Union on an address of the Canadian Parliament, we have yet another illustration of the desire of Canadians to respect the supremacy of the sovereign legislature of the Empire. On the other hand, the Australians make themselves entirely independent of the action of the imperial Parliament, which might be invaluable in some crisis affecting deeply the integrity and unity of the Commonwealth, and give full scope to the will of democracy expressed at the polls. In also limiting the right of appeal to the King in council — by giving to the high court the power to prevent appeals in constitutional disputes—the Australians have also, to a serious degree, weakened one of the most important ties that now bind them to the Empire, which affords additional illustration of the inferiority of the Australian constitution, from an imperial point of view, compared with that of the Canadian Dominion, where a reference to the judicial committee of the privy council is highly valued.

No country in the world gives more conclusive evidences of substantial development and prosperity than the Dominion of Canada under the influences of responsible government and federal union. This system of union gives, as was hoped by its promoters, thirty-six years ago at Quebec, due expansion to the national energies of the whole Dominion, and at the same time affords every constitutional security to the local interests of each provincial member of the federal compact. No dangerous question like slavery or the expansion of the African race in the United States exists to complicate the political and social conditions of the confederation; and although there is a large and increasing French-Canadian element in the Dominion, its history so far need not create fear as to the future, except perhaps in the minds of gloomy pessimists. While this element naturally clings to its national language and institutions, yet,

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under the influence of a complete system of local self-government, it has always taken as active and earnest a part as the English element in establishing and strengthening the confederation. It has steadily grown in strength and prosperity under the generous and inspiring influence of British institutions.

Professor Freeman has truly written that in Canada, which is pre-eminently English in the development of its political institutions, French Canada is still "a distinct and visible element, which is not English — an element older than anything English in the land — and which shows no sign of being likely to be assimilated by anything English." Though nearly a hundred and forty years have passed since the signing of the treaty of Paris, many of the institutions which the French-Canadians inherited from France have become permanently established in the country; and we see constantly in the various political systems given to Canada from time to time — notably in the constitution of the federal union —the impress of these institutions and the influence of the people of the French section.

While the French-Canadians, by their adherence to their language, civil law, and religion, are decidedly "a distinct and visible element which is not English "— an element kept apart from the English by positive legal and constitutional guarantees or barriers of separation — nevertheless, it is the influence and operation of English institutions which have made their province one of the most contented communities of the world. While their old institutions are inseparably associated with the social and spiritual conditions of their daily lives, it is, after all, their political constitution, which derives its strength from English principles, that has made the French-Canadians a free, self-governing people, and developed the best elements of their character to a degree which was never possible under the depressing conditions of the French régime.

It is the influence of this liberal federal constitution, which owes its origin to the joint efforts of French- and English-Canadians alike, that has given to Canada so many able statesmen of French origin, and has at last placed at the head of the administration of public affairs a brilliant French-Canadian, who has often declared that it is the aspiration of his public life to unify the two races, and build up a powerful Canadian nation in the closest possible connection with England, on the basis of compromise, conciliation, and justice to every class and creed.

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WHAT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

AMONG those who, for want of a better name, are called Gold Democrats, there is an immense tendency to write either a biography of, or an epitaph for, the Democratic party. The rule in literature is that the first requisite for the biographer is that he should love his subject. It is evident, therefore, that the recalcitrant Democrat should not undertake to write a biography of his former party. The other rule, that nothing but good should be said of the dead, applies as strongly to the writers of epitaphs. It is, therefore, conclusive that the Gold Democrats must be excluded from a literary post-mortem of the party. Mr. Cleveland has been drawn into this six-day tournament, and with his usual good sense has enunciated the apothegm that "the rank and file ought to be consulted." Undoubtedly, this is the fundamental principle of a self-governing Democracy. In obedience to my own rules, I shall not undertake to offer any advice to my former comrades, because I voted for Mr. McKinley. I shall simply discourse a little, as all men have the right to do, on the conduct of future political campaigns.

In the first place, it may be remarked that "vinegar catches no flies." The high-handed denunciation of all the Democrats who failed to support Mr. Bryan and their eternal exclusion from the party are only the effervescence of a temporary irritation. At the worst, these sinners should only suffer the pains of purgatory. Possibly, if they were to wash themselves nine times in the Wabash, they might be taken back into the party. Jesting apart, when the actual war is on, recruits will be sought anywhere, and welcomed no matter whence they come. The greatest sinner of all in 1896, Mr. Bourke Cockran, bore the banner in 1900, and the return of the very few prodigals who came back was celebrated with many hosannas. In a town that I know of only one man turned his coat, while a family of thirteen came over to true principles, as did many other people. No man need be afraid that he will have any difficulty in breaking into the Democratic party in 1904, if he wants to get in. There's the rub. There's the real trouble. Will he want to get in?

Who can tell whether the old men who were always Democrats until

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1896 will want to enter the triune portals of free silverism, Populism, and anti-injunctionism? Some of them have said already that the Republican party is good enough for them, and that they are tired of wild political theorizing. The difficulty is going to be for any party calling itself Democratic to win away from their new love a class of people who, after a strenuous fight with themselves, have succeeded in breaking party ties. Party principles enunciated at national Democratic conventions must be greatly changed before the confidence of great numbers of former Democrats can be secured.

Free silver has been already practically offered up as a sacrifice on the new altar which is to be erected. As everybody wants to get the best money he can get, it is not likely that the effort to debase the currency will ever be revived as a political measure. The defeated candidate may well announce now that he will accept silver at par for his paper, because the Government takes care that it shall be worth dollar for dollar of gold. But how would it have been if he had been elected, and were required to accept forty-seven cents instead of a dollar?

Antagonism to the issuing of writs of injunction as precautionary measures to prevent the perpetration of crime seems still to be in some favor. Why this should be so passes the comprehension of the ordinary citizen. If a man who owns a factory is notified that a body of men intend to burn it down, and is also informed that he can stop them by a little bit of white paper, with a seal on it, he would be very foolish, would he not, if he failed to secure this easy protection? Indeed, the factory owner accomplishes, without any trouble to speak of, two good purposes: (1) The saving of his property from destruction; and (2) the preventing of incipient criminals from becoming inmates of the penitentiary. Just think of it! The walls and fences of a delightful city, away down in southern Indiana, were more often placarded with horrible anti-injunction diatribes than with any other panacea. Still, the city went several hundred in favor of protection by law.

How can the leaders of any party have so low an opinion of the workingman as to believe that he has so little intelligence that his vote can be influenced by cheap appeals to prejudice? In this day of industrial movement the man of sense will no more think of patronizing workingmen than he will of patronizing millionaires. What family in this land has not a workingman among its members? I pity the millionaire who has no tie to bind him to a class which is day by day helping to make our country the greatest, the most prosperous, and the most influential one in the world. Why, we all meet these workingmen every day. This one works

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at the railroad shops; another in the electric works; others in manufactories of various kinds. In seeing them and talking to them, it is exceedingly difficult to discover wherein the young banker or lawyer or doctor is superior to them in manners and bearing. These young workingmen some day will be presidents of great railroads or of huge manufactories, or chiefs of lines of steamships, or builders of twenty-story houses. Away with all appeals to class prejudice — leave them to the Populists, the communists, the anarchists! When the Democrats went barefooted to the polls, they were the freest and most intelligent of politicians; and in this regard, although they wear shoes now, they have not changed. Just try once to patronize them!

Almost the only positive declaration in the Chicago platform which was inserted into the Kansas City platform was a clause favoring an income tax. It may be set down as certain that, when necessary, such a tax will be favored by all the people who will not be affected by it. If the limit of exemption is fixed at four thousand dollars, the majority in favor of such a tax will be stupendous. But it must be said that taxation should not be favored by anybody unless it be absolutely necessary to raise money for public uses. The inventor of new taxes is no more entitled to honor and praise than is the Boxer who invents new tortures. Taxation is an evil that must be borne, like sickness. It has absolutely no excuse for existence except necessity. It is the most constant, wearing, and annoying of all the evils that civilization has brought on man. In the last campaign, of course, the Democratic party gained nothing by favoring the income tax. No accorded position was given to it in the platform, but it came in with the usual *detritus* of such documents. If money derived from an income tax could be made to take the place of the wretched tax on bank cheques, telegraph messages, contracts, and the other petty taxes so annoying to the people, all the people except those who pay such taxes will be glad; but if the income tax is simply to be added to the exactions already in existence no possible benefits will accrue to anybody.

There are towns in this country where the people are kept forever busy in paying exactions. Decent and respectable brick pavements are taken up every day, and a new article of manufactured stone is put down. Soon this will give way to marble, just as macadamizing and paving with stone and brick are giving way to asphalt. The people of these towns are reduced to preying on each other. In a century or two they will have a splendid system of parks, and avenues of shade trees; but the towns will be fenced in. If men are looking around for principles for re-formed

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political parties, I advise them to guard against overlooking the question of taxation.

Another thing comes within the purview of this disquisition, and that is the foreign policy of the country. The position of parties has been reversed. Forty years ago the synonym for Democracy was the word "progress." We were expansionists; we had annexed all the territory that could be acquired; we were ambitious and brave; we had absolute faith in republican institutions; we were in favor of the acquisition of Cuba. Now, although a majority of Democrats both North and South are in favor of the same views, no one dares to put them in a written platform.

Everything is changed. We do not seem to know where "we are at." We have uncongenial associates, who come into our living room, put their feet on top of the mantel-piece, and make themselves perfectly at home, the same as if they were members of the family — which they never were! Every man seems to be for himself, and "cusses" his neighbor. As Senator Vest is said to have put the situation: "The young dogs hunt nothing but varmints, and the old dogs won't hunt at all."

We have been playing *Polonius* to Mr. Bryan's *Hamlet*. We have called our platform a "camel," a "weasel," or a "whale," as our young Hamlet has dictated. Compare the original with the facts:

> *Ham.* Do you see yonder cloud, that's almost in shape of a camel?
> *Pol.* By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.
> *Ham.* Methinks, it is like a weasel.
> *Pol.* It is backed like a weasel.
> *Ham.* Or, like a whale?
> *Pol.* Very like a whale.

The parallel is complete to the end, because *Hamlet* stabbed and killed *Polonius*, while intending to kill another man!

Mr. McKinley has appropriated our faith, and made it the rallying-cry with which to sweep the impressionable West; and, naturally, we can support no principle that he favors. It is one of the troubles of politics that partisans must antagonize even the purest and best principles if their antagonists adopt them. But the world is outgrowing this attitude. Day by day the independent vote is growing larger, and on election day it sweeps into oblivion party allegiance. It is right that this should be as it is. It is implicitly true that one may rely on this great, calm, patriotic people to do what is just at each presidential election. Because General Washington said that we must not leave our own to stand on foreign ground, our foreign policy has been uncertain. We

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wrote the doctrine of non-intervention in foreign affairs as the fundamental principle of our Government in every state paper and in the platforms of all conventions. Yet the time soon came when Jefferson modified it by holding that this principle did not forbid the purchase of Louisiana; and from that time on we have acquired all the territory on this continent that we could get. We went a bowshot farther, without noticeable opposition, and as a gift accepted Hawaii, at the crossroads of the Pacific, where the ships going to Australia cross those coming from the Orient. Then we branched off again and took Tutuila of the Samoan group, Porto Rico near our own shores, Guam in the Ladrones, the Philippines, and, recently, two little waifs which were not described in the Paris Treaty, although they ought to have been. All these atrocious and notorious departures from our ancient policy have been approved by the people, who have given to the doctrine of expansion the testimonial of an enormous majority in the reëlection of its chief exponent. Still, the opposition to expansion, which has taken on the cant name of "anti-imperialism," is not dead, and there is great danger that in the organization of a new party its founders will make it the foundation stone. It is for this reason that some observations may be appropriately offered, as *amicus curiæ* simply, against this new perpetration of hari-kiri.

It is certainly true that the Spanish war was not begun for purposes of territorial aggrandizement. Our neighbor's house in Cuba was being burned down, and his family was suffering. His condition affected injuriously our own comfort and well-being; so we went to work to restore peace and quietude, with no after-thought of any but consequential benefits to ourselves. This task was accomplished, and soon Cuba will be independent. Almost all Americans hope that voluntarily the Cubans will ask us to admit them into the Union, and no man doubts that this request will be granted. It will be the case of Texas repeating itself, and woe be to the political party which antagonizes a consummation so greatly to be desired.

Dewey's victory gave us the Philippines. We were primarily aghast. We did not know what to do with the white elephant which at one blow became ours. We hesitated, and argued; but, finally out of all the discussion came the decision that it was our duty to hold the islands. When the Anglo-Saxon realizes that duty points the way he is apt to be obstinate. It seemed plain to all observers that it would be cruel and unjust to give the Philippines back to Spain. That country had oppressed them for three hundred years, and it was probable that the harshest measures toward the Filipinos would be adopted from a presumed

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necessity. We could not in justice or in honor give them to another nation, and the demand to do so did not rest upon us.

There were but two courses: one was to keep them for ourselves, and the other to make them independent. I pass over the protectorate idea. No one has seriously considered it. Protection around the world means simply the first step to agglutination, and it is not clearly to be understood why it should mean anything else. Nations are not eleemosynary societies. The word imperialism has not struck the people with much force. It is too shadowy, too remote, too improbable. It was found to be difficult to convince the masses that their rights were endangered because we had once more expanded. Having expanded so many times without injury, history did not seem to support the allegation that there was danger to our own liberties in doing so once again. The Democrats made a serious mistake in adopting as a paramount doctrine the theory that our own liberties depended on the issues of the election. They would have done better, perhaps, if they had left their eloquence — which plainly bored their audiences — behind, and argued that the acquisition of the Philippines would not benefit us materially or morally. They did not condescend to get on this practical ground, but pictured horrible evils which would result to us, as if our own stalwart men had forgotten how to shoot their rifles.

The men who rule the Government never dreamed of empire, and no man ever seriously believed they did. They have adopted the theory of expansion not for the sake of having colonies, and still less for the arbitrary and oppressive rule of annexed territories, but in order to improve the general condition of our own people, to increase our commerce, and to furnish new fields for the sale of our manufactured goods. Whether or not the Philippines were to be independent, at all events they took the wrong method to become so. On the night of February 4, 1899, the Filipinos vigorously attacked our troops; and from that time to this, in spite of numerous efforts to conciliate them, they have waged war on us. There is not much use, therefore, to talk of making them independent now. The flag that went up in honor must not come down in dishonor. We must put down the insurrection first. The Filipino preferred to fight first and explain afterward, and as he began the fight he must quit first.

The impossibility of refusing to take some part in foreign affairs is plainly shown in our conduct toward China. Ought we to have remained quiet and passive while the Chinese soldiers and their Boxer allies were endeavoring, with fiendish cruelty, to murder our men, women,

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and children at Tientsin and Pekin? All over Chihli and Shantung the Boxers sought out the foreigners, tortured and killed them. At Tientsin first and Pekin afterward, they met with resistance from foreign troops. Few men in this country complained that the President sent five thousand American soldiers to save the lives which, without their aid, would have been horribly sacrificed. No man has asked where he got his warrant for ordering our troops to a foreign country. If, in the most awful and remarkable event that the history of the world can show, we had stood back pitiless, there would have been pointed at us for all time the slow, unmoving finger of scorn. We did right! We know we did right, and we are proud of it. As we faced the theory of non-intervention last summer, so we will face it again when the proper case arises.

One hundred and ten years ago we had four millions of people. We were wearing short clothes then. Now we are grown, or nearly so; we have expanded immensely. Conditions are changed; the world has been revolutionized by art and science; its various countries are closer together. China herself, with all the efforts that she can make, cannot preserve her isolation. No more can we preserve ours. For one of its planks, the new political party should adopt intervention in all cases where our interests are involved. What else should it do? Who can tell? The Republicans seem to have a knack of appropriating our theories when they are good, and of vigorously using them against us when they are vicious.

Think of it: the Wizard of the White House has won or is winning the South — our special appanage — over to himself! He did it so simply that all the world thought his conduct was real and natural, as no doubt it was; but no man ever thought of doing it before. He whose ancestors lived on James River might appropriately have done this thing. Had it been a matter of greatness simply he would have done it; but the magician from Ohio, who wins all hearts by his gentleness and kindness and tact, came upon the scene; and to his touch of chivalry the great, warm heart of the South bounded with responsive emotion, as if it would break. Think of it: this major of the Civil War on the Union side, this President from the North, recommended that Confederate dead should repose forever in graves tended by the Union! And, more than that, he wore a Confederate badge at Atlanta. Only here and there did rare criticism come up from half the States — nothing but grateful and gracious encomiums came from the others. The President is the most popular man in the South to-day. In general, his most virulent political enemies, when they attack his policy, lay the blame on "his wicked partners." Suppose for a

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moment that Grover Cleveland had done such acts of generous sympathy as these, what a riot of denunciation would have played across his path!

The reader will delve in vain into current history to find out how and why Mr. Cleveland became the *bête noire* of the Democratic party. It will be a question for future history, like the identity of the man who wore the iron mask. When it is solved it is safe to predict that in no jot or tittle will its solution detract from the fame of Grover Cleveland.

CHARLES DENBY.

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THE GROWING POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

OVER one hundred years ago the founders of our Republic adopted an instrument of writing which has since been known to history as the Constitution of the United States. The first sections of the first, second, and third articles, respectively, declared:

> All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.
>
> The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.
>
> The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

Here, then, we have the national Government divided into three separate and distinct branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. It will be noted that the legislative is placed first, and the amount of space devoted to it in the Constitution plainly manifests the regard in which it was held by the framers of that wonderful document. They rightly appreciated that in a republican form of government the popular branch must be paramount; and they endeavored, therefore, after emerging from thraldom under an obstinate and tyrannical ruler, to emphasize the power of the people. Congress was to be the brake and safeguard in the national scheme. It was to enact laws over the President's veto; the Senate was to have equal voice with the President in the appointment of the higher officials; and, above all, the power to impeach a President was given to the House of Representatives, with the Senate sitting as a High Court when the trial should have been ordered.

It was intended, in the admirable arrangement outlined by our national creators, that these branches — the legislative, executive, and judicial — should be entirely independent of each other. Least of all was it anticipated that the President should become the important factor in the Government. In the early days of our history, the line of demarcation was so well defined as to cause no forebodings for the future. Unfortunately, in the evolution of our Government, the executive has been gradually gaining an ascendancy over the legislative and judicial. The pivot

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upon which we revolve as a nation is no longer the Capitol, where the people's representatives assemble, but the White House, where one man sits in almost supreme power.

It is not my purpose to discuss the authority exercised by the President under what are termed the war powers of the Constitution, although the field is a most inviting one. We have seen the President become, under the all-embracing phrase of "war power," the autocratic ruler of hundreds of thousands of people in Cuba and of millions of people in the Philippine Islands. He has appointed and removed officials without asking the coöperation of the Senate; he has framed tariff schedules independently of congressional action; he has established governments at his own will and pleasure. Congress seems to have abdicated. After the purchase of Louisiana by President Jefferson, Congress delegated to him authority to govern the newly-acquired territory. Similar legislation was suggested in the present Congress with regard to the Philippine Islands; but all action was paralyzed, because the Administration has extended its staying hand, until at last the President was compelled to ask Congress to relieve him from the onerous burden of executive government. Meantime, the laws promulgated by the Taft commission in the Philippine Islands declare that they are enacted "by the authority of the President of the United States," a phrase hitherto unknown in our history. Only recently Congress refused to restrain the importation of liquor into those islands — a traffic which is assuming enormous proportions — because the executive authority was admitted to be supreme.

Engrossed with commercial pursuits, and less responsive than ever before to the demands of representative government, the people accept this situation without protest. They regard it as the inevitable and unavoidable sequence of the war with Spain, which not only disturbed the equilibrium of the world, but opened to us new vistas of power, and thus stunned us into accepting without question many conditions which heretofore would have been seriously opposed. It is true that this acquiescence is, in a large degree, due to the deserved confidence reposed in the present executive by the people. The old adage, "The king can do no harm," is popularly applied to President McKinley; and there is no reason to apprehend that the trust will be betrayed.

But, as I have already stated, I do not propose to discuss the exercise of the war powers of the President — powers so vast and autocratic as to thrust a new word, "imperialism," into our political vocabulary. I desire, rather, to call attention to the manner in which the power of the President is growing through causes which operate daily, and which are

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not accidental and extraneous, like the sudden and unexpected acquisition of territories and peoples beyond the seas. I want to make clear to the readers of THE FORUM, as it is in my own mind, the domination of the President in national affairs.

The lines along which the legislative, executive, and judicial divisions of the Government were laid down are no longer equal as to themselves nor parallel as to each other. The legislative and judicial are merging toward the executive. The appointment of the federal judiciary is entirely in the hands of the executive, as, to be sure, it has always been; but no intelligent man needs to be informed that instances are unhappily becoming only too frequent where the tenor of a forthcoming legal decision can be accurately predicted through a knowledge of the political complexion of the court. Even as I write, the Senate has just confirmed, after considerable opposition, the appointment of a son of an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court to be attorney-general of Porto Rico, when the Court has under consideration a decision of vital concern to the Administration. The son of another Justice of the Supreme Court has just been promoted in the army over the heads of many of his fellow-officers. In the legislative branch of the Government, it is the executive which influences, if it does not control, the action of Congress; while the power originally vested in the executive alone has increased to an extent of which the framers of the Constitution had no prophetic vision.

It is not difficult to discover the secret of executive power. A golden stream flows through the White House to the remotest corners of the United States. Its source is the national treasury. To the President of the United States is given the opportunity to divert a good part of this stream where and whither he will — into the pockets, generally, of his personal friends, but invariably to the financial benefit of his political supporters. If money is the lever that rules the world, the President can dispense it with a largess that is startling. Picture, for instance, the President standing beside the public vaults, with one arm plunged elbow-deep into the overflowing treasury, while the other is distributing the golden store to a greedy horde of eager men! Postmasters, collectors of customs, revenue officials, marshals, attorneys, consuls, foreign ministers — all these and more are among the recipients of the President's bounty. The only check is the approval of the United States Senate; and the members of that body, knowing that their constituents are drinking deeply of the golden stream, rarely interpose an objection.

There is no occasion to deal in generalities. The records of the

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Departments at Washington present accurate detail of the number of offices which are directly filled by the President, with the amount of their annual salaries. Let me present this information as I have gathered it from official sources:

State Department—	
318 consular and diplomatic appointments	$1,000,000.
Treasury Department—	
743 customs, revenue, marine hospital, etc.	617,355.
Post-office Department—	
4,015 Postmasters	6,931,000.
Interior Department—	
747 Pension officials, land office agents, etc.	1,997,640.
Department of Justice—	
Judges, attorneys, marshals, etc.	1,126,000.
Total	$11,671,995.

In this compact form is presented the official outlet for over $11,000,000 annually, every cent of which goes to the persons whom the President personally selects, or to whose appointment, solicited by senators and representatives, he gives his approval. This list is, however, by no means complete, even as to the Departments named. It omits entirely the War and Navy Departments, because of the difficulty in accurately stating the number of commissions annually issued. Suffice it to say that in the last two years the President has been authorized to add enormously to the list of Army and Navy officers; and the amount paid out to persons thus named by him will reach into the millions of dollars. It is a fair and conservative estimate — taking into consideration the $12,000,000 already specified, and adding thereto the military and naval list, the unclassified appointments, and the new offices created each year — to say that the President annually offers to certain favored individuals the sum of $20,000,000, a total distribution of $80,000,000 during his term of office.

It needs no argument to prove that the hand which controls this enormous output of the national wealth is a hand of power. The spoils of office which figured so largely in Jackson's administration were as a tiny rivulet compared with the mighty patronage of a President at the present time. It is, therefore, a question worthy of consideration whether this tremendous power has been or could be used to accomplish definite results desired by a President of the United States. Can it actually affect the vital interests of the country? Is it, in reality, the lever of influence which it seems to be?

These questions must be answered affirmatively. The extremes to

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which Andrew Jackson resorted in his effort to dominate and control Congress, during his great fight against the United States Bank, are naturally recalled; and the severe condemnation of his methods by his biographer, Professor Sumner, of Yale, might well be quoted here if it were necessary to delve so deeply into the past for appropriate illustrations. These, however, may be found much closer at hand. When President Cleveland came into office on March 4, 1893, he found upon the statute books a law which provided for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month. Whether this act was responsible for the financial troubles which were, even then, afflicting the country, was an open question; but in the mind of the President there was no doubt whatever. In the message submitted by him to Congress at the beginning of the extraordinary session which he convened, he laid all the blame at the door of the statute and strongly urged its repeal. He did not confine his interest in this repeal to the words of his message, which was his Constitutional limitation; but the observer of events in Washington saw the executive bring to bear upon the legislative branch of the Government an amount of personal pressure unequalled, perhaps, in the history of the Republic.

Even now one can recall how the emissaries of the President thronged the halls of Congress; how strange and remarkable conversions were wrought through influences which emanated from the White House, and which it was not politic to withstand. When the bill wiping the silver-purchasing law from the statute books went to the Senate, it did not command a majority of that body; but during the three months of acrimonious debate, the power of the executive was exerted to such an extent as to win the support of those senators whose votes were needed to accomplish the Presidential purpose. No one who is at all familiar with the inner history of that memorable and dramatic struggle will dispute these statements, which could be made specific by the recital of details in many instances which came under my personal knowledge. It is also no exaggeration to say that the power of the Administration threw the wavering scale in favor of the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain; while the history of the passage of the Porto Rican tariff bill is another instance, more recent still, where Congress bent its neck to the yoke of the President.

It may be argued that, in these cases of law and treaty and bill, the end justified the means. With those who offer this contention, I have no argument whatever. I simply insist that in three momentous contests, at least, the influence of the President has been successfully ex-

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erted. If it may produce good, it may also be an agency of evil; the fact being that it almost invariably accomplishes the purpose for which it is exercised. Indeed, it has become a recognized axiom in Congress, and particularly in the Senate, that it is futile to oppose a President and his Administration. Grant triumphed over the cabal formed against him; Garfield, a man of ordinary calibre, relegated the brilliant Conkling to private life; and the men who led the defection from Cleveland, before the latter was entirely repudiated by his party, suffered for their temerity, Mr. Arthur Pue Gorman being among the number.

Men whose political life depends upon the distribution of federal offices to themselves or to their friends will cringe and bow before the executive who, with much adroitness, dangles the golden prizes just above their heads. This is human nature, much to be deplored, perhaps, but none the less real. It is this which enables a President to secure his renomination, despite the hostility of a strong minority in his party. The Minneapolis national convention of 1892, when Mr. Harrison was renominated through the efforts and votes of office-holders appointed by him, is a case in point.

Mr. Harrison was, however, defeated at the polls; and this brings us to a consideration of the other side of the question. The office-holders, while they can, and do, largely control the organization of their own party, are powerless when their field of operations is extended to the entire nation. Herein we find a limit to the power of the President. His appointees are certain to be, first of all, without influence over their political opponents; but, more than this, their success is a disturbing factor in their own ranks. The country is so large, and the number of men qualified and available for public office so great, that the percentage of the appointed must always be smaller than that of the disappointed. Jealousy and resentment rankle in the breasts of the unfortunates, and they wreak their silent, but effective, vengeance at the polls. The "outs" are always numerically greater than the "ins." With this restraining fact, coupled with an appreciation of the universal sentiment against a third term, and the knowledge that the distribution of office is rather a source of weakness than of strength to an Administration, there is no reason to fear that any President will ever be able to build up for himself an office-holding oligarchy, intent upon his perpetuation in the executive chair. There is no danger in that direction.

The insidious, but powerful, influence which any President can exercise over Congress through the dispensation of offices is, however, a matter worthy of serious consideration. It has been exercised in the

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past, and it will be in the future, as long as senators and representatives are susceptible to favors and Presidents are anxious to accomplish certain results. I admit that, with the modern tendency toward a centralized government, a remedy for the evil is not instantly apparent. Perhaps a step in the right direction would be the adoption of a Constitutional amendment making a President ineligible to reëlection, with a term of either four or six years. It is possible that senators and representatives would become less obedient if they knew that the Presidential hand would soon lose its gift-dispensing quality. If this plan be not feasible, American statesmen might well undertake the task of devising some other means of curtailing the President's growing power; for the distribution of millions and millions of dollars from the national treasury should not be reposed in one man, even though that man be the President of the United States.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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LABOR CONDITIONS IN SWITZERLAND.

OUT of a total population of 3,144,741, about 1,300,000 live on the profits of commerce and industry. Some 200,000 are employers and independent workers; and of the 421,000 wage-workers, half are occupied in establishments employing five or more, and coming under the provisions of the factory inspection law. In 1882 the number of such factories reported was 2,527, with 129,120 laborers, which number had grown by December 31, 1899, to 5,911 establishments, employing 240,978 workers. During the early period of inspection, it was considered sufficient to visit each factory once in two years; but now at least one visit per year is required, and it is not rare that the same establishment receives several inspections in the course of twelve months. In fact, a portion of the apparent increase in the number of laborers is attributed to the more thorough work of the corps of inspectors during the last few years.

The country is divided into three sections for the purpose of inspection: (1) Zurich, San Gallen, etc.; (2) Berne to Geneva; and (3) Luzerne, Basle, etc. However, as the reports of the various sections are neither unified nor drawn up on the same plan, it is difficult to find the corresponding results for the entire population. In the last report, that for 1898–99, there are noted as working in the factories of the leading industries: 45,567 in metals and machines; 38,532 in cotton; 32,807 in silk; 21,338 in clocks, watches, and jewelry; and 12,071 in embroidery. Some years ago, a special investigation showed that 59.5 per cent of the factory workers were males, although the population numbered 100,000 more females than males. Of the workers, 4.3 per cent were from 14 to 18 years of age; 76.7 per cent from 18 to 50 years; and 9 per cent above 50 years of age. However, 18 per cent of the population had passed the fiftieth year, and many of these were doubtless laborers in retirement, either living on their savings or kept by their children. As a fact, the mortality among the entire population is so low, less than 19 in 1,000, while the number of births is relatively so large, 29.4 in 1,000 (1898), that no further proof is required of the good sanitary condition,

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not only of the country at large, but also of the factories and homes. Inasmuch as the deaths by accidents of all kinds are only 3 per cent of the total number of deaths, it is plain that those among laborers through accidents in the course of their employment are exceedingly rare.

Switzerland offers one special feature of the labor movement which elsewhere has received but little or no attention, namely, home industry with modern appliances. Under this form, agricultural and manufacturing work are often successfully combined, and the members of a family working together escape the rigors of the inspection law. This is not the place to enter into a consideration of the theory of labor; but it is worth while to call attention to the fact that, while the labor organizations in Switzerland, as well as in other countries, are crying aloud for the eight-hour work-day, many thousands of Swiss voluntarily subject themselves to work from early morning to late in the evening; and the constantly growing deposits in the savings banks are the visible result.

In the district of Zurich, for example, it is estimated that 26,886 persons are thus occupied in the silk industry alone; while in the neighborhood of San Gallen 60 per cent of the embroidery machines are kept running in the homes. Another canton reports more than half of its 12,000 straw plaiters occupied with home work. Nor are these the only examples. In watch and clock making, tobacco work, knitting, and various branches of weaving, favorable results are announced from home industry. These results are economic; and the question remains whether the health of the workers is not thereby impaired. As yet, no conclusive answer to that question has been given; but the willingness of the people to work long hours at home is cited as one of the principal reasons for refusing to amend the factory law and to shorten the hours of labor permitted in workshops.

As the country is made up of twenty-five cantons which are more or less independent of the central government and of each other, Swiss legislation somewhat resembles our own in its diversity. In two respects, however, the little Republic has gone much further than we have in the way of centralization; namely, in a constitutional provision requiring obligatory primary education, and in a uniform labor law. The execution of these laws is largely confided to the cantonal authorities, who may more or less neglect them where public opinion does not demand their enforcement. But their existence on the statute books, and the repeated animadversions of the central authorities, not to mention sectional rivalry in the examinations for military service, which have been a powerful stimulant, keep the standard before the eyes of the people,

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and produce in the long run their effect. On the other hand, the more advanced cantons are at liberty to improve on the federal laws; and they not infrequently do so, with advantage not only to their own inhabitants, but indirectly to the State at large.

The Federal Constitution of 1874 declares in Art. 27: "The cantons provide for sufficient primary instruction, which shall be exclusively under State control. The same is obligatory, and, in the public schools, gratis." Under these provisions, the State offers to its children not only a little book-learning, but also some instruction in the practical affairs of life — to the girls a knowledge of household duties, and to the boys the acquisition of a manual trade. Besides an unusual development of training schools, the old idea of apprenticeship has been revived under new and better conditions, and is producing excellent results. The first improvement in this direction was inaugurated by the city of Basle, in 1877. Apprentice examinations were organized and found to be of such advantage that the other cantons of German Switzerland soon followed the example. Later the work was systematized and rendered as far as possible uniform throughout that portion of the country, under the auspices of the *Gewerbeverein* (Industrial Union), which appoints a Central Examination Committee of seven members, holding office for three years.

Working in accord with the local authorities, this committee appoints expert examiners for the various sections, who conduct the work in person. Each apprentice is required to furnish a sample piece of work in his trade, executed under inspection, then to perform given tasks under the eyes of the examiners, and finally to pass an oral examination on the subject of his trade, — materials, tools, machines, their names, characteristics, and uses — and a school examination in reading, writing, arithmetic, simple book-keeping, and drawing, when that belongs to the trade. The results of these examinations are published yearly, and the names of those examined inscribed in a General Swiss Register, together with the trade, and the examination mark received — "very good," "good," "sufficient," or "insufficient." The objects produced by the candidates are placed on public exhibition, for a few days, with the names of the maker, his master, and the mark received for the examination. Girls are admitted to certain trades, and expert women are eligible as examiners. The diploma is accepted by employers as a guarantee of good preparation for future work, and the results have fully justified the expectation.

By means of government subsidies and private gifts, employers who give careful training to apprentices are paid; while the best learners receive prizes and distinctions which practically assure their immediate

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employment under favorable circumstances. Commencing with the modest number of 14 examinations in 1877, the work has grown to 1,104 examinations in 1899, with a grand total of 11,599. Those most interested in the work are now endeavoring to have the examinations declared obligatory by law in the various cantons.

In the same Federal Constitution there were introduced articles authorizing the central government to pass laws regulating the employment of children in factories, also the hours of work of grown persons, and to institute rules for the protection of laborers in industries dangerous to health and safety. Acting under this authority, the law of March 23, 1877, was passed. This requires in general the adoption of all the measures gained by experience to protect the health of laborers and to prevent accidents, as far as circumstances will permit.

Every manufacturer is required to have fixed rules for his factory, regarding the organization of the work, general conduct, conditions of entrance and going out, and the payment of wages. Before these rules can go into effect, they must be submitted to the cantonal authorities, who consult the opinion of the workers before ratifying them. Fourteen days' notice of discharge or of intention to quit work must be given, except in special cases duly provided for; and the pay must be made in cash every two weeks, and in the factory, also with certain admitted exceptions. The day's work is limited to eleven hours, with a full hour's noon rest, and on Saturday to ten hours; and to prevent chicanery under the rotating system or night work, the day's work must commence not earlier than 5 A.M. in summer and 6 A.M. in winter, and end not later than 8 P.M. Furthermore, the hours must be reported to the local authorities and regulated by the public clock. Necessary exceptions are provided for, but in general the provision is duly safeguarded. As to women workers, there are excellent provisions not only forbidding night and Sunday work, but giving them an extra half-hour at noon, when they have the care of a household.

For children, all factory work is forbidden up to the age of fourteen years; and from that age to sixteen, the combined time devoted to school, religious instruction, and work must not exceed eleven hours per day. Employers cannot plead as excuse ignorance of age, and thus escape responsibility. Infractions of the law by employers are punishable by fines up to five hundred francs; and, in case of repetition, imprisonment up to three months may be added. A partial investigation in 1868 found 9,540 children under sixteen years of age working in 664 factories. Of these children, 488 were under twelve years of age. Some of them

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dragged through thirteen hours of daily toil; while others under sixteen years slaved fifteen hours out of the twenty-four.

Fortunately, the law has reduced this evil to very small proportions, and every year sees an improvement. The reports of the inspectors for 1898–99 do not mention the exact number of under-age children found at work, except in the second district, where there were thirty-two cases brought to light, of which thirteen were in the canton of Tessin and ten in Geneva — cantons with many Italian laborers, among whom it is difficult to find the necessary papers as to age. In 1897 there were eighty-six children under age found in the employ of a scheming woman, who revenged herself on their removal by a violent and untruthful publication against the inspector who revealed her method of gaining lucre. In the first district, the inspector complains of the fact of under-age children being at work, without giving an idea of their number; and in the third district it is stated that the cases are numerous.

Complaints are also made that children are allowed to "play" in the factories; and if this is not a ruse to cover work, the danger is none the less great from exposing the little ones to injury from machinery. The law here does not seem to cover the matter as does the French law, which forbids under any circumstances the presence of children in the factories. Many of the cases, however, are those of children between thirteen and fourteen years of age, arising from the fact that some of the cantonal schools finish the primary instruction at thirteen, and that the parents do not know what to do with the children for the intervening year before the legal age of entering on factory work. The question of child labor is one of such importance for the future health, strength, and intelligence of the population, that it is subjected not only to the inspection of the regular authorities, but also to the friendly watchfulness of the councils of *prud'hommes*, the trades union, certain benevolent societies, and the commissioners of apprenticeship. In this manner it is possible to enforce general obedience to the law, and at the same time to aid in many ways the early years in a life's calling.

In western Switzerland, a new departure was made in the canton of Neuchâtel by the law of November 21, 1890, regulating in detail the matter of apprenticeship. Employers are forbidden to accept an apprentice without a written contract detailing the conditions of engagement and work, and signed by both the employer and a parent or guardian of the apprentice. An official programme regulates the details of apprenticeship for fifty-six trades; limiting the work of apprentices under fifteen years of age to ten hours per day, and fixing the duration of apprentice-

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ship, which averages about three years, though varying from one year for ironing of linen, for example, to six years for the four branches coming under the head of spring-making, in the manufacture of clocks and watches. Diplomas are awarded in the name of the Department of Industry and Agriculture, and prizes are given for special excellence. These prizes consist either of a sum of money, deposited in the savings bank, or of books, instruments, or tools of the trade.

So great has been the success of this movement that in eight years the number of registered apprentices has far more than doubled. Neighboring cantons have adopted similar measures; and the Geneva law of November 25, 1899, requires not only a written contract of apprenticeship, but its registering in the Department of Commerce and Industry. In 1898 the number of apprentices in the canton was 1,987, of whom 390 were preparing for banking and commerce, and 1,597 for the various branches of industry. Among the latter were included 681 girls, preparing for a variety of callings open to women.

Although the factory law has been in existence for more than two decades, its administration has been improved from year to year, and the benefits of its provisions have been constantly extended. On December 13, 1897, new prescriptions were issued for the general regulation of all factory buildings to be constructed or remodelled. Before work thereon can be commenced, the plans in detail must be submitted to the proper authorities, and approved or modified to meet their requirements; and a copy as finally approved remains with the government, for future comparison with the work as carried out. Cellars can be used as workrooms under exceptional circumstances only, and then the privilege is restricted by conditions stipulated by the government. All workrooms must be at least three metres high, and contain at least ten cubic metres for each person employed therein. In case the floor surface covers from 100 to 200 square metres, the ceiling must be three and a half metres high, and, if the rooms are larger, four metres high. Sufficient windows and ventilating appliances are provided for; also lavatories separated from the workrooms, with doors closing automatically, containing ventilating shafts of at least twenty centimetres diameter, and reaching above the roof higher than the highest skylight. For certain industries baths are required in the factories; and every establishment must have a dining-room for its workers, unless good reasons can be shown for dispensing with it.

Besides these general regulations, there are special rules governing trades dangerous to the health of the workers. For instance, in tobacco factories special provisions are made regarding the doors and windows,

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an entire change of air being required twice a day; also for exceptionally solid and compact floors, which must be washed or wiped with a wet cloth at least once a day, while the walls and ceilings must be whitewashed every year. The laborers in lead factories must have working-clothes worn in the factory only, and change them for clean ones every week. They are not allowed to eat in any workroom, and are recommended to scrub their teeth with warm water and to wash their hands with soap and warm water before each meal. Furthermore, they are obliged to take a warm bath weekly, with special attention to the scalp and the beard.

In printing offices and type foundries the floors are to be washed daily; and the tables, windows, furniture, and all projections where dust may lodge receive like treatment twice a week. Openings must be so arranged as to permit of continual ventilation, and a thorough change of air must be made at noon and evening; while twelve cubic metres of space are required for each workman, in place of ten cubic metres, considered sufficient in other occupations. Expectorating on the floor is forbidden; and each workroom must be provided with a sufficient number of spittoons, full of wet sand, and carefully emptied from time to time. Smoking is strictly prohibited, as is also working in the street and home clothes.

Besides being guaranteed a comfortable building to work in, the Swiss factory-hand is also assured by law against the arbitrary changing of rules by his employer, as he is bound to receive, on being engaged, a copy of the rules governing the work in the establishment. If the employee breaks the rules, he may be fined by the employer up to one-half of his day's wages; or, for a grave offence, he may be immediately discharged, with the loss of a week's wages, which amount the employer is always permitted to keep back, as a reminder to the worker of the risk of disobedience. But the employer's risk is still greater; for the workman can appeal to a court of justice against an employer who breaks his own rules, and the latter is liable not only to a fine up to 500 francs, but to imprisonment up to three months, in case of repetition of the offence. This question has been finally decided by the highest authorities, so that there is no doubt in regard to the matter. The employer has sufficient power over the worker, who, accordingly, is not subject to further punishment by legal process; but the worker, being personally powerless against the capitalist, can appeal to the government for justice, and have called to account an offending employer, who, because of his more favorable position and supposed higher intelligence, is more severely punished than the worker for non-observance of duty.

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Many employers object to the work of the government inspectors, by which their lack of good faith or their positive injustice toward their workers can be revealed to the public and the authorities, in a manner not to be frowned down or ignored, as frequently happens when similar accusations are made by the employees themselves. One employer went so far as to appeal to the highest authorities against an inspector, accusing him of exceeding his powers in helping a wounded worker to secure his lawful indemnity, and in examining the relation of the men to the sick fund of the establishment. Instead, however, of receiving any consolation from the authorities, this appeal was answered by an order of the Federal Council, dated February 5, 1886, declaring, among other things, that it is the duty of the inspector to see justice done, whether on one side or on the other.

A priori, it appears scarcely possible that men of means, position, and intelligence would stoop to perjury in order to save a sum of money, and thereby defraud a poor, suffering man, whose family may be wanting the necessaries of life, while he is unable to work on account of injuries received while performing his duty toward his employer. Workers are often accused of tricks and untruthfulness to the employer's detriment, and some of them are doubtless guilty. But wrong on one side does not warrant injustice on the other, especially where the employer, by reason of his position, should show a good example. Yet, here it is publicly and officially declared that it is not a rare occurrence for employers to attempt by illegal means to defraud the workers of their legal rights.

Another kind of trick was also revealed, that of an employer who required his workers to be at their places ten to fifteen minutes before the legal time, both in the morning and after the noon rest, on the plea that it required that much time to get all the machines in running order, thus securing from them more than eleven hours of work per day. The men complained, and the government put into the factory its inspectors, who confirmed the fraud of the employer, that he was guilty not only of breaking the law limiting work to eleven hours per day, but at the same time of getting overwork out of his unfortunate employees without paying for it. Nor are such cases by any means rare. In the Report of the Labor Bureau for 1898 there are cited quite a number of methods adopted by employers to defraud workers of their legal rights.

In spite of the countless complaints against the despotism of capitalism, charging it with all the evils of the workers' lives, the facts revealed by labor inspectors prove that many of those evils are the direct result of the workingman's own ignorance, wilful neglect, or positive malice.

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To begin with, parents often put their children to work where they will learn little or nothing, but will soonest gain small wages. A life of poorly paid drudgery is the almost inevitable result. On the other hand, by making some sacrifice in placing the children as apprentices to better trades, the whole future of the younger generation might be immeasurably brightened.

But even of their own welfare the workers are often criminally negligent. In some factories where special ventilating apparatus is installed it is utterly neglected; and the workers remain indifferent to the poisoned air they are constantly breathing. In others, they have deliberately put aside the apparatus prescribed for their protection; declaring that they "are not to be bossed," and threatening to leave if the government regulations are enforced. Where spittoons were introduced they purposely spat all round them; and where modern lavatories were provided, they maliciously broke them.

During the years 1898–99, there occurred in the first inspection district but sixteen strikes, and only two of these assumed any importance. In the one case, poorly paid book-binders struck for higher wages, knowing that their employers were especially prosperous; and in the other case, printers struck against a proposed reduction of twenty-five per cent in their wages. The strikes in the second district are reported also to have been of trifling significance, with the single exception of the carpenters' strike at Geneva. This commenced June 27, 1898, and might have been, it is asserted, easily arranged by arbitration. But the employers were obstinate, although the changes demanded by the men were only slight, and, moreover, just. In consequence, the strike lasted three weeks, causing direct losses to the workingmen calculated at 200,000 francs, while the indirect losses, as usual, were also heavy. As to the third district, numerous insignificant strikes were reported, but only one of any importance, and that was quickly settled by the judicious efforts of a member of the cantonal government.

After elaborate preparation and lengthy discussions, a new law regarding strikes, originating in the question of wages, was passed by the canton of Geneva, in January, 1900. As the constitutionality of the law was immediately challenged, it required long months of legal procedure before the matter was finally settled in favor of the law; and hence the possible results of this innovation cannot yet be seen or judged. Nevertheless, as an experiment it is well worthy of consideration. Inasmuch as a very large proportion of strikes originate in a demand from employer or employed for a change of wages, this law essays to obviate

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the difficulty by providing for the establishing of fixed tariffs of wages, by mutual consent or by arbitration, for definite periods of time, not exceeding five years. These conditions once established, the law provides that as long as such a tariff is in force, no general suspension of work may be declared, either by the employers or the workingmen, with a view to modifying the tariff. It also prescribes criminal punishment for every appeal by publication to quit work, in violation of the present law; and, moreover, it subjects the publisher and the printer to the same punishment as the instigators of the appeal.

The reporting inspector of the second district expresses the opinion that with a more perfect organization of labor there would be fewer strikes, that when all the workers shall be union men and march together, they will be able to make their voices heard. His conditions, however, exist only in the realm of the ideal; for, up to the present, while experience shows that the more unions there are the more those voices are heard; yet, they result in producing rather than in avoiding strikes. None the less it is true that labor organizations have contributed powerfully to the betterment of the workers' condition; and, if judiciously managed, they are capable of exercising a marked influence, not only on their material welfare, but also on their civic education. Opposed to the above inspector's opinion is that of M. Le Cointe, whose masterly "Inventaire des Institutions Economique et Sociales de la Suisse à la Fin du XIXme Siècle" was recently honored with a gold medal at Paris. He says that from the information received he finds that, while in general the relations between employer and employed are favorable, trouble is frequently caused by the influence of the labor unions, into which politics and party spirit too often penetrate.

The number of persons joined in labor unions throughout the country is between 50,000 and 60,000, of whom more than one-fourth are included in the General Swiss Labor Union. Next in numbers comes the Transport Union, with more than 13,000 members; and it is followed by the Grütli, with 11,000 members, but which is probably the most influential of all the labor organizations of Switzerland. It has 324 branches, distributed throughout all the cantons; possesses property to the value of a quarter of a million francs; and disposes of an annual revenue of over 75,000 francs. With 44,372 volumes in its libraries, and 940 newspapers and periodicals, other than its own publications, it offers to its members instruction in book-keeping, foreign languages, the principles of law, etc. It also furnishes amusements, together with instruction in gymnastics, instrumental and vocal music, and target shooting.

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Founded in 1838, in the city of Geneva, the Grütli Union has passed through various phases of existence. In 1890 it attained its maximum membership of 16,391. As the public schools have improved it has become less important in instruction, but has changed gradually into a political organization, preparing petitions and bills, organizing campaigns, and propagating by all the means within its grasp the doctrines of socialism. *Pari passu* with this alteration has grown the love of amusement, so much so, that in 1899, while but 416 hours were devoted to foreign languages, 1,372 hours were given to declamation and the theatre, 63 hours to legal subjects, and 2,925 hours to singing. The old watchword of the Union, "Through learning to freedom," was excellent, forcibly recalling Christ's declaration: "The truth shall make you free." The new by-laws of 1893 state the object of the Union to be "the development of political and social progress in Switzerland, on the basis of socialistic democracy."

A systematic attempt to compile the wages of labor in Switzerland was made in 1895, but covers the wages paid in 1893. Among the trades, divided into fifteen categories and including more than 78,000 persons, the wages of 65,204 workers were ascertained. Of these, 1,563 received 1 franc or less per day; 3,946 earned more than 5 francs a day; while but the negligible number of 41 were paid more than 10 francs for a day's work. Among the 27,000 workers in cotton factories, 31.8 per cent earned but from 1.51 franc to 2 francs per diem. Working in silk, to clothe the rich and beautify their homes, 85.5 per cent of the 12,000 laborers earned 3.50 francs or less per day. For woollen goods the condition was still less favorable, 32 per cent working for wages between 1.51 franc and 2 francs a day. Running greater risks, but also receiving better pay, were the laborers in chemical works, of whom 24.5 per cent received from 3.51 to 4 francs a day. Of the workers in wood, 73.3 per cent received wages varying from 3.01 to 5 francs daily; and 57 per cent of the workers in metal earned within the same limits.

The Factory Inspection Report for 1898–99 furnishes some more recent figures on wages. Cotton spinners earn from 2.80 francs to 4 francs, with only a few who receive as high as 4.50 francs. Women weavers earn from 2.60 francs upward, and attain in some cases the maximum of 3.90 francs. But such is not the pay of all, or for every day, seeing that the average yearly earnings of these women is estimated at the modest sum of 642.50 francs. The present wages in the silk factories vary from 80 centimes for children to from 4 to 5 francs per day for the best women weavers. Men working embroidery machines are said to

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prefer less work at 2.70 francs a day rather than to run four-row machines, by which their wages can be increased to 4 and even 7 francs a day. For machine embroidery, 2 francs a day is the general wage, while 3 francs a day is considered the average of the best paying establishments; but in house work cases are reported where an embroiderer, with an assistant to thread the needles, earns as high as 300 francs a month.

From a table of average wages for the first half of 1899, we learn that builders received as high as 55 centimes an hour; stone masons 5 to 6 francs a day; carpenters up to 50 centimes an hour; paper hangers 5 to 7 francs a day; coppersmiths the same; mechanics engaged in electrical work up to 70 centimes an hour; other mechanics 45 to 60 centimes an hour; and watchmakers 120 to 150 francs a month. Among railroad workers, the wages vary from 1,100 francs a year, for guards of crossings, to 5,100 francs, which is the highest price paid to engine-drivers.

Equally important as the question of wages is that of the living to be had therefor. What quality and quantity of food can the laborer procure for himself and family? And for what kind of lodgings can he afford to pay? Many of the Swiss workers live chiefly on bread and cheese, coffee, soup, and cider, tasting meat but twice a week, replacing it on other days with vegetables or macaroni, and frequently satisfying their hunger with fried potatoes. Employers are, however, gradually learning that better food means better work; and the consequence is that the custom of feeding the laborers in the factories is constantly gaining ground. Accordingly, some of the cases of extremely low wages noted above, as among the cotton-spinners, is in large measure compensated for by a better-prepared and more ample table than the same workers would enjoy if they were paid higher wages and were left to their own expedients. One proprietor goes so far as to provide food for all hands five times a day, including two meals with meat dishes.

Unfortunately, the boarding offered by employers is not infrequently let out by contract to unscrupulous persons who furnish food not only unnutritious in character, but hotly spiced, in order to produce thirst, and thus induce the workers to buy drinks, on which the profits are large. Sometimes, also, the right of furnishing the table of the hands is given to the foremen as a part of their perquisites. On the other hand, the laborers themselves often prefer food of an inferior quality, as in the case of cotton-spinners, who spend a large portion of their wages for sweetmeats, and refuse to drink the best of milk which the proprietor arranged to have brought to the factory at the lowest wholesale price. In another case, an offer of buttermilk at three centimes the litre was

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treated with utter contempt by bloodless women workers, who preferred to spend their wages on knick-knacks.

As to lodgings, the same complaints are made in Switzerland as elsewhere, that their cost is not only out of proportion to the wages earned, but also relatively far dearer than that of the higher-priced apartments. Moreover, there is a decided lack of proper lodgings at prices within the reach of the working class. Efforts to improve the situation have not been lacking, especially by employers; and some of the local governments have been led to inaugurate elaborate plans for housing the poor. As early as 1894 an official investigation showed the existence of 2,029 special houses for workingmen, containing 5,910 apartments, with 29,561 occupants. Of these buildings, 66 belonged to the city of Berne, 356 were the property of societies, and the remainder had been erected by employers. The returns on the capital invested in such dwellings vary from less than 2 per cent, in the case of some employers' cottages, to 10 per cent, the profits of the Basler Bauverein; although in general they are from 3 to 4 per cent.

Of late the movement has made rapid progress. Not only has the city of Berne more than doubled the number of such edifices, but Neuchâtel has followed with 23 houses containing 210 rooms; Zurich has entered on the work; Lausanne bought ground for a similar experiment in 1898; and Geneva has not only guaranteed the Savings Bank for 2,000,000 francs in a similar undertaking, but, since 1896, it has been engaged on a series of workingmen's houses, on its own plans, whose combined cost is estimated at 2,024,000 francs. In general, the so-called twin houses — little cottages of two apartments each, with a garden attached — have been found the most favorable, though Geneva is constructing four-story tenements.

Numerous have been the efforts to regulate and improve the sanitary condition of the lodgings of the poor; and Dr. Schnetzler, the expert of Lausanne, maintains that in this respect Switzerland is superior to Germany, Austria, and France. Herein the different cantons are very unequal, both in their legislation and in their practice. Among the interesting experiments has been that of the city of Basle, whose elaborate law of 1895 provided, for example, that every house must have at least one fire-proof stairway, and that no new house should be higher than the width of the street on which it fronts, with a maximum height of twenty metres, with not more than five stories, and with no living or sleeping rooms in cellars, etc.

On April 5, 1900, an inspection law was passed by the same city

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for houses to rent, and including all the sleeping-rooms of domestics, house laborers, and apprentices. This law provides for the creation of a house commission and a corps of house inspectors, empowered to visit houses without previous notice; to see to the cleanliness of the premises subject to inspection; to order not only the required cleaning, but also repairs, and, in extreme cases, the vacating of the rooms or premises unfit for habitation. It goes even further, and makes provision for loaning money without interest to owners unable financially to comply with the law's exigencies; for reimbursing proprietors of houses where the required changes would prove a too heavy burden; and also, where necessary, for expropriating constructions not otherwise to be brought within the conditions of the law.

So great were the innovations proposed by this law, and so severe the restrictions on the privacy of the home, not to mention the probable financial difficulties to be created, that the referendum was demanded. When exercised, it repudiated the action of the legislators. As it has been found in many civilized countries that it pays to support the cost of general cleanliness and sanitary regulations, the day is probably not far distant when the more enlightened cities will put in operation some such law as this one so lately rejected by the burghers of Basle.

Among modern efforts to lessen the sum of human misery, insurance in its various branches has occupied a very important place. Beginning with the idea of adding to the comfort of the rich, it has now reached that stage of development where it has become practically a necessity of the poor. From a purely voluntary measure of foresight by the individual, it is rapidly passing to the universal, compulsory care of the State. Switzerland has been swept into the general current, but has rowed her boat after her own fashion. The Swiss employer bears a large responsibility for accidents to his workers, and in the years 1897–98 paid damages therefor aggregating 2,700,277 francs. As early as 1855 the Basle canton had a law providing for the institution of an assistance fund in every district, to which contribution by all journeymen workmen was made obligatory. In 1885 the canton of San Gallen made an experiment in forced insurance for all resident citizens. The city of Berne passed a law in 1893 establishing insurance for those out of work, which costs the city heavily, but relieves in winter a vast amount of misery. The next year San Gallen followed with a law of obligatory insurance against unavoidable idleness, but found the enforcement of the law so difficult, and its working so burdensome, that after two years the experiment was given up as a failure.

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Finally, the Federal Government passed the law of October 5, 1899, known as the "Law of Insurance against Sickness and Accidents, and of Military Insurance." It was a most elaborate piece of legislation, containing four hundred articles, and providing for the compulsory insurance of all persons above fourteen years of age, working for others, with certain exceptions. The country was to be divided into insurance districts (*arrondissements*) containing at least 2,000 inhabitants each, and administered by the cantons. Provision was also made for voluntary insurance, but on the condition that the person must be under forty-five years of age and in good health. Those insured were divided into ten classes, according to the amount of their daily earnings; and their delegates were to take part in the administration of the work, in conjunction with the proper public officials. The Confederation was to support the expense of running the elaborate machinery provided for, and pay one-fifth of the premiums. Furthermore, there was to be erected a *Tribunal des Assurances*, with seven judges and five substitutes, invested with extraordinary powers. Methods of insurance and amounts of payment to the insured or their heirs were stipulated with minuteness, and severe punishments prescribed for fraud.

No sooner was the law passed than it raised a storm of protests, answered by a chorus of warm defence, and the referendum was called for. The latter resulted in the rejection of the law, May 20, 1900. Among the objections offered may be cited several, as, for example, that the resulting burden of its application would fall far too heavily on certain classes, and ruin the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, and the independent laborer, of whom, as we have already seen, there exist so many in the country. Moreover, it placed the foreigner on the same footing as the Swiss, and thus offered a premium to the poor and lazy of the neighboring countries, without any return whatever to the Swiss should they emigrate to those countries.

In numerous cases, the new law left the victims of accidents in a worse condition than the old law establishing the employers' liability to pay rather heavy damages in favor of the laborer; and at the same time the new law required the workingman to pay a heavier premium of insurance. Worst of all the faults, perhaps, were: (1) that the law was to the advantage of the careless and the drunkard rather than to that of the conscientious hard worker; and (2) that it provided berths for an army of parasitic bureaucrats. A distinguished jurist of the country told me that he and many others voted against it, principally because of its intricacies, which made it practically impossible of execution.

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Nevertheless, the idea of compulsory insurance is in the air, and the principle is accepted by an ever-increasing number; so that the project, far from being killed by the rejection of the law of 1899, simply made place for the continued discussion and study of the matter. Among the new plans proposed, it may be interesting to glance a moment at that of Louis Ullmo. This project is remarkable from the fact that it would not commence obligatory insurance with the intelligent, prudent laborers, who by careful saving could make provision for the day of misfortune or for helpless old age, but that it would build a social pyramid of the insured, beginning with the poorest, the tramps, the professional paupers, as well as those reduced to misery by misfortune.

Says the author: "The insurance of the destitute, providing for old age, sickness, and accident, such is the aim of obligatory insurance." This insurance he would have paid out of the public revenue, on the principle that every individual may possibly fall into misfortune, and that, therefore, in the days of his prosperity he should contribute to the common fund of insurance, on which some day he may have to call for aid. Above the destitute, this scheme places the laborers, clerks, and small employers, and these he would have united in mutual insurance societies; while those in easy circumstances, forming the top of the pyramid, should insure themselves at will in independent companies, as at present. Such is the project which, amplified and supported by specious arguments, was recently offered to the Swiss public in attractive pamphlet form — a project founded on a spirit of large charity, but which overlooks the innate defects of human nature, and deprives the masses of the impulse to honest effort, which only the feeling of personal responsibility affords.

In contrast to such a proposed premium on pauperism, the canton of Neuchâtel passed the law of March 29, 1898, which declares its object to be to insure under the most favorable conditions, and to encourage and popularize provident habits by means of a judicious and valid organization. Three kinds of insurance are provided for: (1) life; (2) life annuities payable monthly after the age of sixty years; and (3) mixed, that is, life insurance in case the insured dies before the age of sixty, or annuity after reaching that age, or capitalizing the annuity on arriving at sixty. The benefits of this State insurance are limited to sums varying from 100 to 5,000 francs for life insurance, and from 30 to 100 francs monthly payments for the annuities. Among the exceptional features of this system may be noted that no one under eighteen years of age is eligible, and that no account is taken of the condition of the health of

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the insured, with the exception that those in poor health cannot benefit from the insurance until after paying premiums for three years. But in case they die before the expiration of that period, the sums paid by them will be reimbursed to their heirs.

Furthermore, when a person once insured stops payments, he does not lose all that he has hitherto paid. On the contrary, the canton of Neuchâtel, in such cases, calculates the capitalized value of the sums paid, and places that to the credit of the insured, to be paid to his heirs in case of death, or to himself if he reached sixty years of age. The cantonal government pays the expenses of administration, also the extra risk of admitting those not in good health; and it furthermore pays from five to twenty per cent of the premiums, according to circumstances, of the sums insured up to 500 francs capital and 30 francs monthly payment of annuities.

The law went into effect February 1, 1899, and the first report of its operation, dated September 22, 1900, has just appeared in print. Under the provisions of the law, five local mutual insurance companies turned over their policies and their funds, amounting nominally to 681,259 francs, to the new government institution. The premiums due for the year on all the insured amounted to 166,804 francs; interest on capital, 17,042 francs; and the government subvention was 96,406 francs. Payments to insured and their heirs amounted to 133,714 francs; and the cost of the first installation, furniture, etc., with recognized losses on the funds of the mutual insurance companies, were all placed in the profit and loss account. Yet the net profits of the eleven months' operation were 57,543 francs, which sum was added to the reserve. After the reserve has attained certain proportions, the surplus is to be applied to the reduction of the premiums to be paid by the insured.

On December 31, 1899, the number of life insurance policies was 7,971, aggregating 6,722,757 francs, including 3,410 policies of 500 francs, and 3,781 of 1,000 francs each. Of mixed policies there were but 627, aggregating 996,379 francs. But it should be remarked that the law permits the change from one kind of insurance to another; and the experience of the first year goes to show that many of the insured will take advantage of this feature, to capitalize their insurance on arriving at the age of sixty years. For annuities, there were only 28 policies, calling for monthly payments aggregating 1,290 francs.

WALTER B. SCAIFE.

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THE SUPERINTENDENT FROM THE PRIMARY TEACHER'S POINT OF VIEW.

THE ways in which a superintendent can hinder or help a primary teacher are many. That a superintendent would intentionally hinder any teacher is, however, unworthy of a moment's notice. Nevertheless, the hindering ways are distressing and multifarious; and the only consolation lies in the fact that no one man has ever yet been able to compass them all. But let us particularize.

In the first place, there is *the superintendent with a hobby.* A large percentage of our superior officers ride a gayly caparisoned, dappled steed that gallops industriously and gracefully from September to June without getting anywhere. Having selected the primary department as the best training ground, he brings in his hobby and winds it up. Sadder still, he keeps it wound up.

By a system of reasoning bearing his private monogram our superintendent has arrived at the conclusion that arithmetic, for example, is the central subject about which all other studies group and find their true relation. The primary teacher receives her instructions accordingly. She must twist and turn every subject — reading, language, phonics, art, or science — until she is able to discover some attributes of quantity or magnitude, or both. She must do this regardless of their obscurity or their remoteness from the central point in the lesson. The numerical attributes must be dragged forth, and the children set to find the relations existing between them. They are to lisp in numbers whether they come or not.

Their efforts at art — the crude little drawings done in impossible colors, so dear to the heart of the teacher — are an offence and an abomination to this superintendent. He will have none of these drawings, he avows, "because they are neither true nor exact." There must be no idle wanderings in the field of fancy, where the lilies and daisies run riot and smother the sturdy seeds of accuracy he has sown.

In music he requiries the pupils to give with absolute correctness and oily glibness the relative values of notes down to the hemi-demi-semi-quaver: they must beat the time with an emphasis and precision

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which the superintendent can recognize afar off. It matters not about their strident tones and lack of expression. The mathematical ideas must be developed first, and the others will develop spontaneously. If they shouldn't happen to do so, it is of no consequence. The one thing needful is being done — the children are preparing to meet a world that measures much and carols little.

It is hard to leave the hobbyist right here without saying some good things about him; but we must pass on to consider the ways of his colleague, *the experimenter* — the superintendent who has no hobby, but is making strenuous efforts to find one. Most likely he is a graduate of some higher institution of learning. He flourishes a crackling diploma and jingles medals galore for football and oratory; but the great requisite, pedagogical insight, he has never come in sight of, not even at long range. A tactful primary teacher can manage a superintendent with one hobby, without serious inconvenience to herself or permanent injury to her pupils; but when it comes to serving under a hobby hunter, or chronic experimenter, the case is much less favorable.

A teacher so situated was once asked if her superintendent had as yet succeeded in finding the primary panacea.

"No," she replied, wearily. "He is as restless and fanciful as a bantam hunting its first nest." And then she went on to describe their preliminary faculty meeting and the superintendent's inaugural address. How he impressed upon them the grave responsibility resting on the primary teacher, who must lay the corner-stone of the pupil's future career, and build the foundation of twelve, possibly fifteen, years of scholastic work! How he urged them to select their materials with the greatest care! How he besought them to build upon the solid rock, to be thoughtful, steadfast, and kind to these confiding, innocent babes, fresh from their mothers' loving arms for — "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." There were tears in his classic eyes.

He said all that, and straightway turned that teacher's little kingdom into an experimental station, as if these "confiding, innocent babes" were so many incubated chicks, or Belgian hares, or scared rabbits. Having missed the main issue himself, he fell an easy prey to all the educational theories afloat. One week he had the teacher put numbers first on the programme, because he had just read that the reasoning faculties were brightest in the early morning. The next week he read that memory held the boards from 9 A.M. until 2 P.M., at which latter hour the imprisoned reason stalked forth and reigned till the sun went down. The programme was changed again.

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At another time he appeared before the long-suffering teacher with an expression such as Columbus wore when he touched San Salvador. He had discovered that no child was able to make the proper associations for more than one new word a day. For proof he showed her an article in an obscure publication, and bade her read it. "It was sound," he said. "It was all sound," she thought. To carry out the theory of that stray article, he requested that thereafter she should teach but one new word per day.

"Hers not to make reply,
Hers not to reason why,
Hers but to do and cry!"

After that she got out the glossy manual which the superintendent had compiled all by his lone self, and she read: "Grade A must finish the First Reader in one year." Now there were 176 days in that school year, and there were 417 different words in the reader. One word a day! How could she manage it?

Happily, the "one-a-day" plan was soon displaced by a scheme of grander proportions. This time he came heralded by a rattling, rumbling sound that brought the pupils up standing. Upon his face a great radiance shone; from his neck a tape line dangled; in his left hand swung a pair of prodigious calipers; with his right he trundled a platform scale loaded with apparatus for eye tests and ear tests, with height gauges, ergometers, thermometers, spirometers, etc. The regular recitations were suspended while the instruments were exhibited and explained, and a few of the braver children measured and tested. The teacher was furnished with a new basis of classification and promotion, in which the physical record played an important rôle. She was ordered not to admit to the school in future pupils who should fall below certain standards of weight and measure.

No attack should be made upon *judicious* experiments. Without them teaching would be but a synonym for groove-running. But there is abundant reason for objecting most emphatically: (1) To a superintendent's utter lack of discrimination between good theories and bad ones; (2) to his hap-hazard way of springing experiments upon a school without consulting the teacher; and (3) to the rapidity with which he crowds theories upon a teacher, without allowing her time to weave even the worthy ones into her own originating force.

In this world of extremes, the *experimenter* is usually followed by the *fossil*, who calls himself a conservative. If he has fallen into this antiquated state from lack of energy or from lack of ability, he amounts to

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nothing as a working force. Under such direction, or lack of direction, rather, the timid teacher gives weak, ineffectual service, while the over-confident teacher rushes ahead, carrying out such plans as seem good for her particular department, but she does it in total ignorance as to whether these plans will find logical sequence in the higher grades.

Then there is the *fossil from choice*, the worst conservative on the terrestrial ball. Oppose him, and he is a tyrant; obey him, and you are a fossil yourself. The kindergarten, which the experimenter fitted up so elaborately, this fossil passes over with grim and silent forbearance. In his cold and glassy eye the teacher reads that she, of all others, may not dwell long in the land of the conservative. And, under the combined blight of her too-evident sadness and his disapproval, the little people endure more than tiny tongues can tell.

But in no department does he set his hand and seal so firmly as in the primary. There the way of the teacher becomes invariably hard, while the way of the learner becomes infinitely harder, because it is infinitely more abstract. The typewriters and printing-presses he conveys to the high-school laboratory — for experimental purposes. The sand and clay in stock he suffers them to use, for the sole reason that he wastes nothing, not even dirt. Every pupil — down to Tommy in his sack apron — must have a Universal Speller. He revives the toe-mark. With his own hand he paints that dismal line of bluish-brown. He forces beginners to print three months even if they could write when they entered school. He longs for the slates his grandfather smeared, and sighs for the gourds that hung by the well.

The hinderers all live in the same block — the stumbling block — so it is only a step over to the *mechanical superintendent*. He is known by the supply catalogues, library schemes, sample diplomas, registers, elaborate reports, blackboards, erasers, coal-hods, brooms, and fiery furnaces, out of which he has constructed about himself a wondrous wall, which no primary minister or infantile legation has ever been able to penetrate or scale, and come in contact with his professional personality.

He visits the primary department periodically, standing in full view of the school while his eye travels critically over the windows in search of faulty ventilation or bad lighting, across blackboards that should be clean and glossy as a raven's wing, into corners for webs, and beyond the shadows for he-knows-not-what. He looks at the thermometer, rattles the register, and takes an inventory of the cabinet. Then he bends double and peeps down each aisle to see if the children's feet touch the floor squarely. The pantomime is so interesting that all recitations have

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long since been abandoned. He rounds up at the teacher's desk, secures her record, and tramps out. The mechanical details are all right. Miss Blank is a good teacher.

No fault can be found with his material conditions for instruction. In the realm of matter he is indeed a genius; but when he undertakes to apply the same principles to an elusive, spiritual thing like the mind, he is unique. His course of study cannot be matched in logical arrangement of subject-matter, nor can it be equalled in ignorance of the natural development of a human soul. He has a neat, precise method for each individual study, which the teacher must use to the exclusion of all other methods. This, together with the course of study, is a bit hard on the pupils; but, like Squeers's treacle and brimstone, "it's good for 'em."

His catalogue, too, is clean-cut and original. Indeed, it would have done credit to a Miles Standish or a King Cyrus. According to its mandates, no child is permitted to enter the building before the ringing of the first bell — though the tempest rage and the thermometer sulk at 20° below zero. The eager little feet must learn a lesson. Let them stand in the snow until the janitor hangs up the rope and shuffles to the door. The teacher will wipe away their frozen tears and thaw out their little toes; and if they happen to take a chill, she will send them home. Where there is a will there is a way!

And there is that matter of excuses, too. When a pupil is absent, the teacher must send the parent a written notice of such absence twice a day, until an excuse is received or the child returned. Sometimes the cause is death. The teacher knows it, the superintendent knows it, the whole town knows it; only the catalogue is ignorant. Twice a day must those notices be sent, until the afflicted parents get time and heart to write the excuse exacted. Often they are hurt or indignant, but what does that signify? The dignity of the law has been sustained: the catalogue has not been trailed in the dust.

And yet, after all, one feels some qualms of conscience when one attacks the mechanical superintendent; for usually he is a man of marked industry and serious motive. And besides, there may be mitigating circumstances. There are school boards, for instance, whose duties end as soon as they put in all their available relatives as teachers and employ a veteran of three wars as janitor. The superintendent must do the rest; that is what they hired him for. Such a man is a martyr, deserving of our tears and sympathy; for no one, we believe, should be held responsible beyond the limits of the opportunities given him.

And there are so many other things which the *hindering superin-*

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tendents do, which, if they should be recorded, every one, would make up a good-sized library. The trouble with all of them is that they do not know, or else have failed to grasp, the real purpose of school organization. The character of their work reveals this. A man's conception of the real issue is bound to shape and color his every act of supervision. If to his mind the school exists primarily for the benefit of teachers and school officers, he will be constantly striving toward lessening his own labor, raising his salary, or making a reputation for himself; the improvements accruing to the school, if any, being only the means to his selfish ends. On the other hand, however, he may have a vague notion that, somehow or other, the whole thing is for the children. So he attaches himself to some psychological sect and proceeds to study "the child," the abstract child, whose mind he can divide into convenient little chunks, wrap in bits of blue stocking, label, and pigeon-hole — the neatest, deadest thing in pedagogics.

Among them all these superintendents have studied everything in the organization except those for whom it was created, the children — these actual entities, these real beings, that wriggle and sniff and ask questions, that demand a piece of one's heart, and hand over the whole of theirs in return. Sometimes one is moved to suspicion that the trouble is back even of their misconception of the school purpose; that it is a lack of personal interest and affinity for children themselves; that if it were not for the jingling compensations they would not be stretching out their arms and bidding little children to come unto them. Yet all of these superintendents are called. The pity of it is that any are chosen.

Now, as to ways that help. Under ideal conditions, the superintendent is free to devote his time and energies almost exclusively to the supervision of teachers, the business or mechanical phase being given to a separate supervisor or director. But since these ideal conditions are seldom found, it seems best to consider the superior officer, as most of us know him, in the double rôle of business agent and pedagogical expert. He is chosen, "the fairest of ten thousand, and the one altogether lovely"; at least his recommendations so picture him, as do the recommendations of every other applicant. But the members of the board brush these aside and look at the man; and by reason of his personality they grant him the place.

Everything is new to him, everything but the universal principle of common sense, and he goes to work. The board does not seek him sorrowing, lest he fail to attend the election of teachers. He is there. He even pushes his prerogative so far as to secure the election of every ca-

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pable teacher who has applied; and in the chorus arising from their grateful hearts is heard one clear note of purest joy. It comes from the primary teacher, who rejoices not so much because her name is again written there, but rather that her labor has not been in vain, that her little pupils will pass into hands as appreciative and skilful as her own.

But this is not all. The superintendent carefully surveys the field of his environment. Then he adjusts his best educational conceptions to the existing conditions, and reorganizes the system. One year will not suffice to carry out his plans; two years will scarcely see them well started. Clearly, then, he owes it to the schools to retain his position and that of every faithful teacher in the corps.

How reassuring and inspiring is the work with a leader who has a definite, increasing purpose, and the stamina to carry it out! That a superintendent is helpful does not argue that he is perfect. He is not; and the hopeful part of it is that he recognizes his imperfection. Freed from the bias of hobbyism, experimentalism, fossilism, and other self-blindingisms, the helpful superintendent turns his eye upon himself first and discovers his own limitations; and, having discovered them, he straightway sets to work to extend his lines, thoughtfully, persistently, and, above all, gradually.

Then, without rousing suspicion, he begins to look for the limitations of his assistants, not in the vague abstractions found in "Handy Guides for Superintendents," but in the "actual entities," the "real beings," themselves. He studies his primary teacher much as he would study a rare flower or a troublesome weed, as the case might be. Possibly she does not see the relation which her work sustains to the rest of the course. A serious case of blindness surely; and it takes skilful manipulation of common clay to restore, or rather induce, professional sight; but the helpful superintendent tries it, and is often successful.

Or it may be that her organization is faulty. Here again the strong hands sustain the weak, not once, but in all subsequent readjustments, or at least until she develops sufficient power under his direction to organize without assistance. It is even possible that she may excel in all else and fail in government, not so much from lack of muscle as from lack of judgment. The superintendent can give temporary relief by terrorizing the school; but he usually employs a more enduring method, that of helping the teacher to find the rational punishment for individual offenders. Indeed, as an interpreter of boy nature the superintendent is, by divine right, an expert. The proverbially bad boy is no enigma to him.

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But helping a teacher to transcend her own limitations sometimes calls for heroic treatment. One schoolma'am has camped so many years in a pedagogical desert that she has fashioned a calf of ancient methods and prehistoric theories. Another brings a bespangled animal carved of yesterday's fads and to-day's follies. And they fall to worshipping. The chivalric superintendent would wean them from their calves; but the helpful superintendent falls upon their idols and burns them with his wrath, grinds them in the mill of his vengeance, and scatters their dust to the four winds. In their stead he enthrones a little child.

There are other teachers with faces invariably drawn and pale and with nerves unstrung. They are miserable, and so are their schools. The helpful superintendent waits a reasonable time for them to retire, and then he proffers his official suggestions.

The one who shines like a star in the social firmament every night, and goes into a total eclipse every day in the school-room, is advised to turn her light upon her children sitting in darkness, and to give society — already surfeited with nocturnal splendors — the benefit of a prolonged eclipse.

As for the woman who stars in the religious firmament as conductor of cottage prayer-meetings, chairman of foreign missionary societies, walking delegate of the district W. C. T. U., manager-in-chief of church festivals, and generalissimo of every other supposedly moral movement, the superintendent walks straight up to her, undaunted by sentimental considerations, reminds her that school teaching is no less a work for the Master because it is paid for, and that the Lord could think but ill of a professed follower who holds the little ones at arm's length, and oppresses them with her cheerless tones and jaded spirits.

A pleasanter task than this, though fully as useful, is relieving teachers of as much nervous strain as possible. It does give a woman such a cosey sense of security to know that the man in charge is just, and sincerely sympathetic; that he will stand between her and all inflammable patrons; that he will cause the book-agent to flee away; that he will defend her interests in the presence of an august and all-powerful board; that he is, in brief, her fortress and her high tower. He does not presume to meddle with the details of primary work, except in flagrant cases of incompetency, but allows his teachers that fulness of liberty which, more than all else, fosters the development of artistic teaching.

It sometimes happens that a school board is disinclined or financially unable to furnish that abundance of supplies required for strong primary work. Our superintendent lays hold of the new limitation and

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begins a characteristic investigation; but he finds the limitation is, after all, neither new nor rare — that probably half the primary teachers of our great commonwealth are expected to do highly concrete work with one home-made paddle and a box of crayon, with instructions to use the latter economically. But what surprises him still more is the fact that as the pupil passes on up through the grades with ever increasing power for abstract thinking, he is supplied more and more with expensive material for concrete thinking. And when he gets into the college or university, where the mature student thinks best with both eyes shut, he finds chemical and physical laboratories costing thousands of dollars, and uniformed assistants to make the wheels go round. This stupendous partiality for the higher institutions is distressingly clear to all thoughtful superintendents; and to them primary teachers must look for that ultimate adjustment which shall place the more abundant supply where nature indicates the greater need.

While much of a superintendent's helpfulness is accomplished through the exercise of authority or by direct suggestion, as already indicated, the greater good comes from his higher service, that constant rational guidance through the educational processes, and, more especially, that persistent stimulus to broader culture and loftier heights in the professional life. Like Goldsmith's village preacher,

> "He tries each art, reproves each dull delay,
> Allures to brighter worlds, and leads the way."

ALICE IRWIN THOMPSON.

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"TABLOID JOURNALISM": ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

RECENTLY, we have been treated to an experiment in daily journalism. Mr. Alfred Harmsworth has given us his idea of what the twentieth century newspaper should be. He calls it "tabloid journalism." Like everything new, it has been talked about, condemned, and approved.

This is an age of tabloids, which is only another name for concentration. We take our medicines in the form of pills and capsules and tabloids; we take our nourishment in the form of an ox boiled down to a tea cup; even our intellectual *pabulum* must come in a similar form. It is all characteristic of the rush, hurry, superficiality, and the desire to avoid trouble, which were the distinguishing traits of the century just closed. If a man is sick he takes his capsule because he can absorb it anywhere; it does not cause him to lose even a minute from his business; it is so delightfully simple; and so, in the same way, he can snatch a meal out of a spoonful of beef tea. He can also read the history of the world in one sitting in Somebody's "The Universe at a Glance in Pointed Paragraphs."

Mr. Alfred Harmsworth is a genius. He possesses the three great gifts which make for success wherever they may be employed. He has tremendous vitality; he has the power intuitively to divine what the world wants, and he has the ability to execute. Such a man would make his mark in any line of endeavor. He would be as successful in finance or statesmanship or war as he has been in journalism; and what he has accomplished in journalism the world knows.

A man of unusually keen perceptions and with the audacity which is spelled genius when it wins, Mr. Harmsworth saw in London a mine so rich and so easily to be worked that its golden possibilities were staggering. Education in England had succeeded admirably in turning out every year an ever-increasing host of half-baked sciolists of both sexes. The board schools, the Acts of Parliament, and the ever-zealous educational officers had enabled them to get hold of a smattering; and with the "Three Rs" they acquired something which had not been provided for by Parliament or boards of education. Crude, immature, raw, and un-

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able to assimilate the little knowledge which had been tabloidly furnished to them, the result of education, in nine cases out of ten, was to give them a vague longing for something which they could not define or express. It had given them aspiration for what they knew not; it had stirred passions and aroused desires which had shadowed across their minds, but never assumed substance. The "work'us kid," whose past was a grim recollection of starvation and torture, and whose anticipation of the future was equally joyless, gave way to the "board school boy," who quickly forgot his multiplication table and his grammar, but who never forgot that not everybody worked. In a word, he wanted to be amused.

Here was a constituency ready made. Mr. Harmsworth gave the world — his world of London, a city, remember, with a population greater than that of any State of the American Union, with three exceptions — "Answers." It was exactly what had been demanded; it was the answer to the unexpressed desire. It was neither vicious nor virtuous; it did not elevate, neither did it demoralize; it was not witty or enlightening; it was simply commonplace, dull, trivial, and exactly suited to the mental requirements of its readers. And that, after all, was the secret of nineteenth century commercial success — to give the people precisely what they wanted. Errand boys and factory hands invested their coppers in "Answers." They read it at their lunch, and it was the Attic salt to their hunk of dry bread and rancid bacon. The errand boy took a tabloid, one of Mr. Harmsworth's paragraphs, as he went loitering between the bank and Lombard street; the young clerk in the interval between measuring half a yard of ribbon, furtively snatched a tabloid under the counter when the floorwalker's back was turned. Mr. Harmsworth was the P. T. Barnum of England. He furnished a "refined entertainment." He gave his readers amusement; he provided them with "jokes." Some of his tabloids were so deftly sugar-coated that "the useful information" which they contained could be taken by even the most sensitive stomachs.

One of the phenomena of the nineteenth century — one wonders if the same thing will continue during the present — was the fecundity created by a demand. When a demand existed and an attempt was made to satisfy it, instead of the public being satiated, a new appetite was born. In nothing has this been so marked as in cheap literature, including in the term newspapers and magazines as well as books. The circulation of newspapers and magazines has enormously increased since their reduction in price. One "Answers" could not supply the ever-increasing demand. Mr. Harmsworth's rivals, who were without his creative force,

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but intelligent enough to follow where he led, saw their opportunity and threw into the insatiable maw "Answers" under other names.

Nor did Mr. Harmsworth propose to suffer the fate of most pioneers and, after having cleared the ground, see others garner the crops. He duplicated and reduplicated his original production, the prototype of the whole family, until to-day the news stands of London are covered with "Answers," "Tit-Bits," "Smith's Scraps," "Jones' Sayings," "Brown's Hash," and so on through a couple of score more until one wonders who reads them and how they manage to exist. But the question who reads them is quickly answered. Go into any bus or train or lunch room at any hour of the day or night and you see men and boys and women and girls taking and enjoying their tabloids.

The curious thing is that the reading is no longer confined to the class for whom it was originally intended, as the people of greater intelligence are not ashamed to acknowledge that they are addicted to tabloidism. Last summer, while going from London to Glasgow, I fell in with a middle-aged Englishman, whom I later learned was the executive of a large corporation. He had a bundle of papers and magazines, among them half a dozen brands of tabloids. We engaged in conversation, and he courteously handed me a tabloid. When I expressed a preference for nutriment in another form, he explained that he found in tabloids a mental diversion. "I get tired of 'The Saturday Review' and 'The Spectator,'" he said, "and I read these things because they keep me from thinking."

They are all the same. They are all stamped from one die. Mr. Harmsworth knows his readers better than they know themselves. He knows that they are incapable of sustained thought, and that with them language is direct. Consequently, you must talk to them in as few words as possible; you must hold their attention in a sentence and not in a paragraph. In a story they want situations, not incidents. Occasionally, the proprietor originates a prize — a life insurance policy, a catch-penny scheme of some kind — and immediately his rivals take it for their own. Having assimilated one tabloid you have taken all; and, like the modern patent medicine, these tabloids have a variety of uses — from wrapping up the errand boy's lunch to lining the pantry shelves.

From the weekly "Answers" to the "Daily Mail" is a short step. Until the advent of Mr. Harmsworth into daily journalism, the London newspapers were the dullest, the heaviest, the most unattractive, and the least intelligent press in the world. This last assertion, I suppose, will be questioned. It is a fact, however, that in their gathering and

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treatment of news, which includes the editorial comment upon it, the London newspapers have always displayed antiquated methods and an unintelligent grasp of events. I am quite aware of the fact that the editorial writers on the leading London papers are men of wide and thorough knowledge, and that it is popularly supposed that the important editorials are written by specialists — men who, in addition to their literary ability, have a professional and intimate knowledge of their subject; and yet, despite their knowledge and their professional attainments, the ignorance and glaring inaccuracies are astounding.

No one can know everything; and when I am given a ponderous column and a half on the latest archæological discovery I am quite willing to accept the writer's dictum for the correctness of his conclusions; but when I glanced over a review of a session of Congress just closed, as I did in London last summer, and in a column editorial discovered by actual count fourteen misstatements of facts and confusion of men and things, I wondered what had happened to the American "specialist." The old motto, "False in one, false in all," might be justly applied. If these writers are so ignorant of America, a country which has been brought so close to them, and whose people speak their own tongue, is it not a fair presumption that their ignorance must be much greater of countries more remote, whose peoples are alien to them in language and thought?

The editorial page of a London newspaper is ponderous, and the news pages are unsatisfactory, dull, and monotonous. The English reporter or correspondent is not trained to write, but simply to record facts. The well written account of an important event — the opening of Parliament, the departure of troops, the return of a popular hero, a yacht race — which is such a marked feature of an American newspaper is unknown in England. The London editor shows his appreciation of the value of news by space. He gives to it several columns; but we find nothing but words, words, words. The descriptive, the photographic reproduction, the light and shade, the touch of wit, the playful fancy of the writer, the human interest — all this we know in the American newspaper; but one never sees it in the London reporter's "story." In fact, if I were asked to present the distinction between American and English reporting in a few words, I should say that in America we aim to give photographs, while in England they content themselves with working drawings made to exact scale.

If the people wanted tabloids once a week, was it not reasonable to suppose, Mr. Harmsworth argued, that they would swallow them every morning before breakfast? Again Mr. Harmsworth gave them just what

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they wanted. There are no heavy editorials in the "Mail"; there are no long and dull articles in its news columns. It is not well written, but it is not disreputable. It has none of the spice of the devil about it. It has no shrinking modesty. If it sends a special correspondent to Timbuctoo you are apt to know it; and you will be probably told of the *enormous* expense, the *wonderful* enterprise, and the *gigantic* labor involved. The dispatches from Timbuctoo appear in large type, and illustrated with maps and pictures. The correspondent is lurid and so graphically exact that one wonders how *he* can know so much when no one else knows anything. Perhaps later you find out that he has been a trifle imaginative, but no one cares for yesterday's tabloid. Tabloids are warranted not to keep in any climate and to spoil twelve hours after manufacture. They are like yesterday's snowstorm.

All this is an old story in the United States, although it was very new in London. To a certain extent Mr. Harmsworth has revolutionized English journalism, and he has revolutionized it by applying methods which have long been in vogue on this side of the Atlantic. The "Mail" furnishes no new suggestion to an American newspaper manager.

Thus far, the causes of what Mr. Harmsworth has ingeniously called "tabloid journalism." Now, what are its effects? As it seems to me, the effect of tabloid journalism is distinctly bad in that it destroys the taste for more serious reading. The ordinary daily newspaper is unquestionably an educational medium; and the majority, the great majority, of editors are to be found on the side of morality and decent living and civic virtue. Yet newspaper reading is not an intellectual training, and the man who devotes much time to the newspapers finds it difficult to concentrate his thoughts on books, which are not to be assimilated at a glance. In the nature of things it must be so. No newspaper writer dares to be deep or exhibit his knowledge. That would be fatal. He must be light, even flippant, and always interesting. Nor will the reader waste much time over what does not interest him in the first few lines. If it does not hold his attention he skips to something else; and after his spirits have been depressed by reading an editorial on the state of trade in South America, he can recover his vitality by perusing the "Humorous Side of Life."

Mr. Harmsworth would make the condition even worse than this. He would offer everything to his reader in concentrated form and would still further discourage his necessity to think. And that is the psychological explanation of tabloidism. The editor of one of the most successful magazines of the day said recently to a writer: "Your article is

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excellent and most interesting; but, unfortunately, it makes the reader think, and our aim is to amuse and not to instruct the readers of our magazine." Remembering what my English acquaintance said, it looks as if the whole world at this day were trying not to think, but simply to amuse itself.

Fortunately, the American newspaper reader has not yet reached the tabloid state. He wants his news presented as concisely as possible; he does not want long disquisitions on recondite subjects which have no possible interest for him; he cares more for news than views; but he does not care for a diet of scraps. If a story is to be told he wants it told in full; and if it is well written and has intrinsic importance, he does not find two or three columns any too much. He does not want essays served with his breakfast coffee, but he is prepared to read a not too abstruse article which may instruct him. In other words, his appetite is too healthy to be satisfied with tabloids.

A. MAURICE LOW.

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HOMICIDE AND THE ITALIANS.

FOR two reasons Italy has obtained an unenviable reputation in regard to crime. Not only has a very careful study of crime among the Italians been made by criminologists, but it so happens that crime in that country has been frequently accompanied by extraordinary circumstances. It has thus come to pass that many persons have formed the impression that our beautiful country is privileged ground for the production of criminals. For example, after the assassination of King Humbert, the newspapers and letters which I received from the United States contained, directly or indirectly, the most severe as well as the most unjust estimates of the character of the Italian people.

A young lady of Indiana, who has been in Italy, and who is incapable of descending to mere vulgar prejudices, wrote thus to a friend of mine:

"The assassination of King Humbert has called forth many bitter and scathing remarks upon the Italian in general. It has been said that almost all anarchists are of that nationality; that Italians are a murderous race, who, when they become angry, would as soon kill a person as look at him; that they are all alike in that respect; etc., etc. You have no idea of what things have been said."

All this is, indeed, most lamentable, and reminds one of the lady who once asked if all Italians were "fruit-store men"!

Taken all in all, it is true that the knife and the revolver have gained for the Italians an unenviable notoriety. The history of the temporary emigration of Italians to Switzerland, France, and Germany, and of their permanent emigration to the other side of the Atlantic, particularly to the United States, is rife with disagreeable facts; and, unfortunately, newspaper writers, with their customary exaggerations, have managed to render such facts glaringly revolting. Now, in these days, when so many Italians have become American citizens, and are participating in the political events of that country, I think it may not be uninteresting to the readers of THE FORUM to have placed before them a true and impartial account concerning homicide among Italians. A search after the truth is always useful.

Moreover, the prejudice against Italians does not exist in the United States alone. Even in Italy unfavorable criticism concerning the char-

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acter of the Italian has been supported by certain statistics, poorly collected, however, and still more poorly interpreted. I refer to the statistics reported by Lombroso's school of criminology. Indeed, the most eminent man of this school has accredited the Italians with ferity as their principal characteristic!

Every Italian who holds himself aloof from the prejudices of ordinary patriotism will recognize that the moral conditions of our country are not of the best, and that in the general statistics of homicide Italy holds a disgraceful supremacy. More murders are committed in Italy than in Spain or Hungary; and in the latter two countries the number of homicides has been supposed to be the largest in Europe. Having said this much, with a sincerity which none can doubt, it remains for us to examine into the details concerning the fact.

For the years 1895–96–97, we find that an average of 12.58 per 100,000 inhabitants in Italy have been accused of homicide. A more detailed study brings to light these facts: (1) The provinces of Italy which give the highest averages for homicide are Girgenti, 52.65; Sassari, 36.53; Trapani, 33.25; Palermo, 32.25; and Naples, 31.76. (2) Those which yield the lowest averages are Mantua, 1.87; Bergamo, 2.12; Padua, 2.15; Sondrio, 2.47; and Cremona, 2.65. These figures go to prove that there exists in Italy a large zone — almost all northern Italy — which, as regards homicide, very nearly approaches the most civilized countries of Europe. Difficult as is the study of crime in the United States, it may be said that there exists in that country also an enormous difference in the criminal statistics of different regions. For example, in the statistics for 1898 we find a maximum of 20 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in New York. In San Francisco the number was 13.33. The minimum was found in Baltimore, 0.59. Washington has the small percentage of 0.73. Italy and the United States are pre-eminent in regard to the differences in social conditions found in the different sections of the same country.

And here I must call attention to another point. The various political crimes of the Italians have given the enemies of democracy the pretext of attributing the high criminal average to the propaganda through which the popular factions — republicans, radicals, and socialists — are seeking to spur the Italian people on to a more highly civilized life. Now, statistics show that the crime of homicide is greatest in the south of Italy — in Sardinia and Sicily — that is to say, in those parts where the fewest republicans and socialists are to be found; where, in fact, they do not exist as a political party. If we look upon homicide from the

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standpoint of political propagandism, we are forced to admit that in Italy, as in Germany, such propaganda exerts a moderating influence over crime. In the north of Italy, where, as we have seen, the crime of homicide is at a minimum, radicals, republicans, and socialists abound, and are organized into strong political factions.

But let us leave for the moment this argument concerning political revolutionary propaganda. I have said that northern Italy is in a state of moral superiority, as compared to southern Italy, from the standpoint of statistics of homicide. But he is mistaken who believes that this superiority has always existed. At a period not very long past, *i.e.*, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Lombardy, Piedmont, and Venice — which to-day are objects of universal envy and admiration — were morally in a very inferior condition. The Piedmontese, Lombards, and Venetians of that time strongly resembled the Sardinians and Sicilians of the present day. This proves that crime is not a question of race, as some pseudo-scientists, who love to cling to the old formulæ and thus profoundly impress the ignorant, would have us believe.

And if the history of the past disposes of the opinion that crime among Italians is a mere question of race, so does the history of the present encourage us to hope for the gradual moral regeneration of all the regions of southern Italy, now so stained with the crime of murder. This hope is not merely founded on ardent desire, but is based on actual statistics. To prove this, we need simply to compare the statistics of 1879–83 with those of 1895–97; for this comparison shows very clearly that homicide is diminishing appreciably throughout all Italy, and that the average has dropped from 17.88 per 100,000 inhabitants, to 12.58. The diminution has been considerable in some provinces of central Italy. In Ancona it has fallen from 19.83 to 8.86; in Pesaro, from 18.02 to 7.29; in Leghorn, from 21.38 to 5.53. This diminution is also generally noticeable in the provinces of the south. One province alone in all Italy is a melancholy exception to the rule — Naples. Here homicide statistics show an increase from 26.71 to 31.76. And yet this is not to be wondered at, when we consider the social conditions of that city.

Noteworthy also is the fact that the diminution of homicide in Italy has been neither accidental nor irregular. It has, indeed, been both regular and continuous. From 5,418 homicides in 1880, the number fell to 3,868 in 1896. And this reduction of some 30 per cent in the general average of the country was brought about without any direct influence of education, with which the Italian Government does not greatly

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concern itself. It has been determined by other social factors, which have indirectly spread their advantageous influences,— roads, the telegraph, newspapers, commerce, facility of access to the most refined and cultivated centres, and, above all, emigration.

Emigration has been of assistance in a number of ways: (1) Because emigration is generally undertaken by men, and, for the most part, youths, who yield the largest proportion of homicides. (2) Those who depart help to improve the condition of those who remain, either by means of an increase in earnings on the part of the latter, or by the savings which the emigrants send home from abroad. In fact, the amount sent home to Italy by emigrants reaches a total of about 300,000,000 lire per annum. (3) Education has been of assistance; for, when emigrants return from cultured surroundings, such as Switzerland, France, and the United States afford, they exert a helpful influence on their relatives and friends at home.

And now let us ask: If in less than twenty years, without any organized effort to decrease the number of homicides, we have obtained such satisfactory results, what wonders might not come to pass if the State and the ruling classes should endeavor, directly and persistently, to combat this crime? If they should do this, Italy would be no longer pointed out to the world as the nation of crime.

The study of the causes which bring about crime is one of very great interest, and is now being prosecuted with the utmost diligence in Italy, where the criminal phenomenon is most intensely manifest. Our form of government encourages this condition; the want of general education encourages it; and, above all, the want of culture encourages it. Where education is lacking, there is wanting also the development of the soul, without which no check is placed upon the human passions. On the other hand, in places where education has advanced, it has had the effect of moderating the criminal tendency. Where we find the combination of oppression and ignorance, as has been the case for a long time in southern Italy, there the manifestations of crime are greatest. In the south of Italy, in Latium, Romagna, and Sicily, criminal associations sometimes assumed a political aspect.

I shall not dwell here on the reports bearing upon the relation of the various systems of government to crimes of violence; I shall turn, instead, to those reports referring to homicide and education. The reader must bear in mind, meanwhile, that instruction and education are intimately connected with political and economic conditions. Hence, while speaking of homicide and lack of education, I shall keep in mind the

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system of government as determining the foundation and breadth of education.

The intimate relation between homicide and the want of education may be found in every case, and Italy serves admirably for such demonstration. Considering the invaluable statistics of Dr. Bosco — one of the most noteworthy among the students of the conditions in the United States — we find that, with the exception of certain small oscillations in some of the provinces of Italy, the maximum of homicide coincides with that of the want of education. In Sardinia and in Sicily — in the period 1879–83 — the greatest number of homicides coincided with this lack of education. On the other hand, the smallest number of homicides is to be found in Lombardy and Piedmont and in some parts of Emilia, where the lack of education is least in evidence.

International comparisons confirm this report. Dr. Bosco, in his excellent study of homicide in the United States, has demonstrated that the same condition is true of the other side of the Atlantic as well. He has found that extensive culture helps to decrease violent crime by modifying the habits of the people, rendering them more mild in disposition.

Further data on the relation between education and homicide are furnished by another important publication, one belonging to the General Bureau of Statistics of Rome, published in 1899, regarding the vocation of those guilty of homicide. While those who followed "roving" trades gave the enormous total of 4,738 convicted out of 100,000 individuals, we find that artisans, clerks, teachers, capitalists, and householders yielded not more than 288 convicted out of 100,000. In the face of this, who can deny the influence of social conditions upon the genesis of crime?

The highest contingent of homicides comes from laborers and miners, who, as is well known, live a life of peril, poverty, and ignorance. The high total which marks the homicides in Girgenti and Caltanissetta may be traced to the poor, brutalized miners of Sicily, where mining life is most prevalent, and where education among the miners is *nil*.

In my opinion, Italy, of all countries, is the best suited for demonstrating the parallelism of homicide and ignorance. But examples are not wanting in other countries. In England the spread of education has greatly diminished the number of homicides. And yet, in two well-known works, Mr. Merridon argued that it was unnecessary to educate criminals, that education was only an incentive to crime. In Switzerland education has almost eliminated homicide. What has occurred in the Ticino canton is eloquent proof of this. Sixty years ago, in that can-

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ton, as in Italy, homicides were frequent, and ignorance abounded. To-day, we find that district — which by the map is Italian, as it is by race, language, and religion — morally and intellectually on a level with the rest of Switzerland and the other cultured countries of Europe. The few homicides which do occur in the Ticino canton are, sad to relate, to a great extent committed by the Italian immigrants, who perpetrate there the crimes resulting from their poverty and ignorance.

Having thus briefly discussed the conditions, let us now direct our attention to the lessons to be learned from them. These lessons, as regards Italy, are very clear: (1) Homicide in Italy is not a question of race; (2) the manifestation of homicide is shown by statistics to vary with the social conditions; and (3) first among the social factors of homicide is lack of education.

Now, it can be very well maintained that education in itself is directly influential in diminishing capital crimes, for the reason that it checks impulsiveness and develops the moral qualities. The Italian Government falls disgracefully short in its duty as regards public education. The law of 1877, which obliges all children to attend school as far as the third elementary class, is an ironical one, as no provision was made by the State to ensure that it would be carried into effect. Poverty prevents the people from sending their children to school. Indeed, poverty obliges these children to work.

Again, the annual expenditure for public education by the Italian Government is ridiculously small. In this respect, it is far behind the other civilized countries, as the following figures will indicate:

Country.	Year.	Population.	Expenditure in Lire.
Great Britain	1896	39,694,542	315,410,090
France	1896	38,517,975	185,240,060
Russia	1895	31,849,795	189,830,335
Italy	1896	31,290,490	60,821,220

The United States expends about 1,000,000,000 lire annually for educational purposes. And to Italy's greater disgrace, we must remember that Switzerland, with one-tenth of Italy's population, expends two-thirds more for education.

In Italy, the government is merely the instrument of the wealthy ruling classes, and the constitution is a living falsehood. With a population of 30,000,000 there are not many more than 1,000,000 electors. In the eyes of the Italian governing classes, whom the American tour-

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ists call "the best society in Italy," the populace exists merely as a mechanism for work. For the ruling classes of Italy all the marvellous examples of educational institutions, which the English and Americans have spread over the world, have no value. And, as long as the majority of the Italian people deplore their own delinquencies, it is clear that the responsibility for the very unfavorable conditions under which the masses in Italy are forced to live rests upon the shoulders of the ruling classes.

NAPOLEONE COLAJANNI.

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THE HOPES AND FEARS OF RUSSIA.

DURING the last five years, the hopes and fears of the Russian nation have undergone an evolution which is of no small interest to students of sociology, and which may well cheer the hearts of all believers in democracy. Centred at the outset in the person of the autocrat, they have been gradually transferred to the self-respect, self-confidence, and stubborn activity of the thinking portion of the nation. The process was painful, yet salutary.

There is in the Russian folk-lore a very poetical figure which occurs in many legends, that of a warrior and hero who comes to a crossing where he finds an ancient stone bearing the inscription of the words of fate:

> "Whosoever goes left will meet with death, though his charger will be spared; whosoever goes right will survive, though his charger will perish; whosoever goes straight will meet with the destruction of himself as well as his charger."

In 1894, at the time when the present Tzar's father breathed his last in the Crimea, and Nicholas II took his place on the throne of the Russian Empire, the Russian people found themselves in the position of the warrior of the legend. Just as that hero, because of his grandeur, could not decline to go ahead when meeting with threatening danger, so a powerful nation could not stop its progress on approaching an unknown field. Notwithstanding the fact that it had no such clear statement of what awaited it as had the legendary hero, it had to choose a way; and, with the instinct of a great nation, it took the path to the right. The charger of its hopes was slain, in the course of time, through the personal assistance of the Tzar; but the Russian people found themselves on the proper route.

The circumstances which attended the accession of Nicholas II to the throne were particularly favorable to his winning the hearts of his people. The personality of the Young Man of All the Russias was to every Russian a mere blank, and it was open to the imagination to paint it in colors as bright as one's longings and hopes for the best would suggest. And these longings were ardent in 1894.

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It was the end of the reign of Alexander III — the reign of which the Tzar himself was the best personification. With his enormous, clumsy figure, his bovine gaze, and a hand that could break a horseshoe or bend in two a silver coin between its fingers, with a strong dislike to books, to riding, and to moving about generally, he was suggestive of the leaden burden of stolid reaction placed by him on the Russian nation, and kept there during the whole of his reign. The latter was in its fourteenth year when it came to an end; but, judging by the extreme weariness felt by the people, it might be supposed to have lasted half a century. This feeling is thus pathetically expressed, by a talented contemporary, in a moderate and independent pamphlet of the time:

"God Almighty! if only the schools and all those who fervently work for popular education were allowed a little time for breath. If only the flogging of the peasant were stopped. If, at least, the most brazen-faced official robbers and obscurantists were put aside. If, at least, the population of the fringe of the Empire were not so shamefully persecuted for their religion, native language, and customs. If only the monopoly of the press, in the hands of mercenary, reptile proprietors and editors, were put an end to. . . ."

Such was the pathetic wail uttered by the intelligent and honest portion of the nation at the end of Alexander III's reign; and it was not limited to the educated classes. The masses felt the same. While the present Tzar's grandfather, during whose reign the emancipation took place, has been known among the Russian peasantry as "The Peasants' Tzar," Alexander III has been nicknamed "The Landlords' Tzar," and "The Great Flogger," because under his rule flogging became quite a general practice, and an official panacea.

"The Great Flogger" was now dead, and all eyes turned immediately with hope to his successor. The new Tzar was young; he was only twenty-six years of age; and every one wished to believe that because of his youth his heart was open to generosity and to confidence in his people. All wished to think that he had not yet had time to get hardened in the egotism of his position, or demoralized by the pettiness of his surroundings, but that he would be able to rise above the narrow and selfish interests of officialdom, and to understand the feelings and position of the nation.

So the nation, on its part, showed a most loving and touching attention to the young man. As soon as the news of his father's death spread, there was a sigh of relief throughout the country. But that sigh was heaved in silence and in private lest the filial feelings of Nicholas II be offended. Outwardly the greatest reverence was shown to the memory

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of the deceased, and the progress of his body from the Crimea to Moscow was one long pageant. Some towns became absolutely ruined by the enormous expense imposed on them on this occasion; yet they were silent for the moment. Characteristic of the Russian, the masses knelt on the way with the spirit of reverence to the dead, and the most humane readiness to forgive one who was about to appear before the Judge of Judges.

Every one knows that there is no Parliament in Russia. The only organized and officially acknowledged bodies representing the population are the Zemstvos, corresponding to a certain extent to your county councils. Very naturally they felt that they had to speak for the public; so they began to present the Tzar with written addresses, in which — side by side with manifestations of loyalty and expressions of grief at the sorrow that befell their new sovereign — they asked him, in most respectful language, for one favor, namely, to be admitted into his confidence, to be allowed to be heard by him direct, without the intermediary of officialdom. Such was the meaning of the addresses presented to Nicholas II by the local assemblies of the provinces of Tver, Toula, Oufa, Kourske, Voronezh, and others. They were couched in almost timid language. The most outspoken passage may be found in the Tver address, which ran thus:

"We believe that our happiness will grow and be strengthened by equal regard being paid to the law by the people and the representatives of the power of the State; because law in Russia, representing the will of the monarch, must be placed above the chance opinions of this or that delegate of the power. We firmly believe that the rights of individuals as well as of social institutions will be unflinchingly protected. We expect, Sire, that our social institutions will have the right and opportunity of expressing their opinions on questions which concern them, so that the expression of the wants and thoughts not only of the representatives of the administration, but also of the Russian people, may reach the height of the throne. We expect, Sire, that in your reign the vital social forces of Russia will move forward along the path of peace and truth. We believe that, in unity with the representatives of all classes of the Russian people, who are equally loyal to throne and fatherland, the power of your Majesty will find a new source of strength, and the pledge of success in the fulfilment of your magnanimous plans."

Was there anything in these words that could offend the feelings of any sovereign, unless he bore a baby's head on his shoulders, or looked upon his people as a herd of cattle to whom the right of expressing any wish was to be denied?

On January 17, 1895, congratulations on the occasion of the Tzar's accession to the throne and of his marriage were to be presented at the Winter Palace, by 600 deputations, representing the different municipalities, the army, various corporations, and the Zemstvos. As soon as

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Nicholas II appeared in the hall, he stepped forward and delivered the following speech:

"I rejoice to see gathered here representatives of all the estates of the realm, who have come to give expression to their sentiments of loyal allegiance. I believe in the sincerity of these feelings, which have been those of every Russian from time immemorial. But it has come to my knowledge that latterly, in some meetings of the Zemstvos, voices have been heard from certain people who have allowed themselves to be carried away by absurd fancies about the participation of representatives of the Zemstvos in the general administration of the internal affairs of the State. Let all know that I devote all my strength to the good of my people, but that I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and unflinchingly as did my ever-lamented father."

This step on the part of the Tzar was of the greatest moment. He showed by it that he did not even so much as understand what was wanted of him. He flung into the face of the representatives of the people a rebuke for their wanting to curtail his autocratic power. As a matter of fact, no such attempt was made at that time. Quite the contrary: the nation appealed to his autocracy against the unbearable rule of bureaucracy. Through their only legal representatives they told him that they preferred the rule of his single person, with the aid of law, to the rule of that soulless, and, therefore, merciless, million-headed machine, called bureaucracy. They wanted only access to his ears and to his good-will. But so much did the young man prove to be permeated with bureaucratic conceptions of government, and so little had he in common with the governed, that without going into the matter at all he simply sided at once with the bureaucracy as against the nation.

One may easily imagine the bewilderment, the disappointment, the feeling of offence and of shame that the Tzar's action produced throughout the Empire, and even abroad. Yet people wanted to hope against hope. "He is young," they said; "he is inexperienced; he has been misled; let us wait; the coronation will be an opportunity for him."

The coronation came and went, but it revealed no new features in the personality of the young potentate, on whom all hopeful eyes now rested, except his childlike infatuation for everything glittering, which he has probably inherited from his mother, and his unprecedented ability to squander money. His coronation cost a sum far surpassing anything spent on such occasions by other sovereigns since the founding of the Russian Empire. A lurid shadow was thrown on all that glitter by the appalling catastrophe which occurred on the plain near Moscow, where the "popular festival" was prepared for the masses. Through the criminal neglect of the administration, a ravine in the path of the moving masses was left unprotected; and, owing to the fact that the police proved

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absolutely incompetent to direct the movements of the crowd, thousands fell into the trap. The moving masses were so dense that they could not stop, but trampled on those who stumbled first, being in their turn subjected to the same doom by the next rows. Over 4,000 persons, men, women, and children, perished thus in a most atrocious way; and while horribly mutilated bodies were still lying on the plain, merry tunes were playing a hundred yards away, to make people believe that everything was all right; and the Tzar and Tzaritsa appeared in pageant dress at the Royal Pavilion.

This great calamity did not contribute to the popularity of the Tzar. No one charged him with it, nor will I — that would be an injustice. But his behavior on this occasion not only revealed in a striking way his utter weakness, but also pointed out the lack on his part of strong emotion, clear thought, and manliness. The day after the calamity, when the whole of the old capital was terror-stricken and in mourning, Nicholas II appeared at the ball given at the French Embassy. He half-heartedly uttered to the Comte de Montebello a kind of apology about the position of a sovereign being that of an actor, who must appear on the stage however heavy his heart may be. But the opinion of the Russian people was different. The crowd tore down an imperial herald from his horse, and ill-treated him; stones were thrown at the Tzar's carriage on its way to the ball; and while the latter was in progress, the people outside extinguished the lights around the building, and tore to pieces the bunting. Cries of "That's how the Tzar is mourning!" were heard in the streets; inflammatory speeches were delivered; and when the police attempted to arrest the speakers, the latter were liberated by the public. No wonder! The facts were against the Tzar's explanation of his attitude. An Austrian Grand Duke died in Vienna during the coronation festivities, and the festival arranged for that day was countermanded. But when some 4,000 or 5,000 honest but poor Russians were sacrificed to the Moloch of autocratic pageantry, the merry-making was proceeded with!

The epilogue of the coronation was worthy of the performance. When the investigation of the calamity on the Khodynea plain revealed the disgusting incompetency of the administration, the Tzar, following the advice of the surrounding official clique, hushed up the matter. He made a show of punishing the guilty parties by dismissing from their posts some third-class officials; and he gave some money to the families of some of the victims, — thus robbing them of far larger sums they might have recovered as damages, had justice been allowed to take its usual course.

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These were not the only facts which gradually effaced the halo that the nation's anxieties and hopes had created around the head of Nicholas II. Even after the repeated rude awakenings I have alluded to, people tenaciously clung to the belief that if the eyes of the Young Man of All the Russias were opened by holding the picture of truth before him, everything might yet change for the best; that if opportunities were afforded to him to depend on better people, he would break the moral yoke under which he was kept by his surroundings. But the truth was divulged to him; and although opportunities were given to him, he never thought of profiting by them. The truth about the persecution of the Stundists was told him, and a lesson in religious toleration given to him, by the delegates of the Society of Friends, Messrs W. Marsh and E. W. Brooks, who succeeded in seeing the Emperor and the young Empress in private, without the knowledge of the Imperial Torquemada, Mr. Pobyedonostsev. Nevertheless, religious persecutions went on. The truth about the position of the Russian press was explained to the Tzar in a petition and memorandum presented to him by the scientists and literary men of St. Petersburg, through General Richter, without the knowledge of any of the ministers; but Nicholas referred the whole affair to those very ministers against whom the petition was mainly directed. The official inquiry into the robberies and swindles committed by one of his ministers, and other inquiries into official scandals, threw a lurid, but searching, light on what his bureaucracy was. But this did not move the Tzar to replace the bureaucratic system by anything better. He did not even permit the infamies to be exposed to light, and the offenders punished by a court.

The latest opportunity to be just, statesmanlike, and manly was afforded him by the so-called Students' Strike. The Tzar appointed his own late minister of war, General Vannovsky, to make an inquiry into the matter. But when that independent old man reported that the entire blame for the lamentable event must be put at the door of the Home Secretary and the police, Nicholas stopped him, saying that he knew everything, and that in risking their lives the police were saving his. Then he proclaimed an imperial edict, threatening the young men, in case of a new strike, with compulsory military service, as privates — a measure which takes us back to the time of Nicholas I, the Tzar-Corporal, when the Sergeant-Major was the officially acknowledged ideal for the citizen, the army was converted into a Botany Bay institution, and the law was put under the Tzar's heel.

Foreigners are unable to follow closely the course of Russian events.

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Therefore, while the real value of the Tzar's personality was gradually revealed to every one of his thinking subjects, in England a great many people still placed much hope in him. When his famous summoning of the Powers to the Hague Conference took place, Nicholas II became quite a universal favorite and hero. Not in Russia; there the people knew already what to think of him and of his proposals, and bitterly laughed in their sleeves. They knew that his real character would soon come out. The Hague Conference was not yet at an end when the world was startled by the Tzar and his government forcing on Finland an enormously increased military burden in men and money, and this by absolutely unconstitutional means, and in violation of Nicholas's own oath.

The great Abraham Lincoln once said: "You can fool all of the people some of the time; and some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time" — not even if the people ask to be fooled, one may add. People in Russia will still eulogize Nicholas II; they will ascribe to him all kinds of good actions; and they will continue to petition and address him, not, however, because they expect anything of him. All this will be done, because under the protection of the Tzar's name the struggle against his irresponsible rule is safer and easier. But the faith in his personality is gone irrevocably, and with it a good deal of the prestige of his position. And this is pure gain. So long as we place with some one else our hopes in the improvement of our conditions, we are not politically mature. But when we have no one to rely upon, we must rely on ourselves, and that is the beginning of political maturity.

The Russians have full right to believe in their inherent powers. When I speak now of the Russians, I mean the three big branches — the Great-Russians, the Little-Russians, or Oukraïnians, and the White-Russians — who, though differing in language, folk-lore, and customs, belong, nevertheless, to the same Slav race, form one state, and are building up in common a civilization of their own. The Russians came upon the historical stage as late as the ninth century. Four centuries later the invasion by innumerable Mongol hordes threatened the very existence of the race, and kept it in bondage for two centuries. Yet the Russian nation outlived the calamity, and threw off the yoke in the year 1480. Since then the Russian people have made enormous sacrifices to overtake in civilization the more fortunate nations, who had had ages for their development before we could begin; and we can point with self-respect and satisfaction to the results.

The Russian nation is, no doubt, very much behind time politically and socially; its industrial development leaves much to be desired; yet,

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as concerns literature, art, music, poetry, and even science, it is inferior to none of her older sisters, not excepting the British or the German nation. True, there has been only one Shakespeare in the world, and only one Goethe; yet neither the British nor the Germans have the novel as developed in Russia, which is universally acknowledged, even by American critics, to be the greatest production of its kind. A nation which has produced poets and writers like Poushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Shevchenko, Tourguenev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Korolenko; composers like Glinka and Tchaykovsky; sculptors like Antokolsky; painters like Vereschagin, Repin, Kramskoy, and a host of others — such a nation may safely rely on her spiritual powers and possibilities. Now take science. Lomonosov, originally a fisher-boy, later an academician, who labored a century ago, anticipated by fifty years the ideas of comparative geography, as developed later by Humboldt and Richter! The names of Lomashevsky and Ostrogradsky, in mathematics; of Botkin and Pirogov, in medical science; of Mendeléyev, in chemistry, etc., — these are universally acknowledged as stars of scientific progress.

Still more confidence, perhaps, may be inspired by an attentive, discriminating look at those masses who alone insure an historical future to a nation. The Russian peasant — poor as he is, shabby and unkempt as he generally impresses the foreigner — has found in himself the ability to colonize in some four hundred years over one-half of Europe and over one-third of Asia. Ask your engineers who are employed on Russian soil, and they will tell you, if they are just, that the Russian workman is one of the quickest to understand a new idea, to adapt himself to it, and to execute it skilfully. Go into our streets, villages, fields, sail along our mighty rivers, and from the introduction of singing into work, by men and women, from the formation of special choirs in every company of soldiers, from the exquisite singing in our churches, nay, from the very cries of hawkers in the streets, you will gather that the Russians are among the most musical people of the world. Our folk-lore is one of the richest and most poetic in the world.

Undeveloped as our social life is, it contains customs and institutions which may yet prove to be living nuclei of a more just and humane order of things than the one prevailing in older nations. Among these are (1) the communal tenure of land; (2) the democratic organization of the village community, not yet altogether crushed by bureaucracy on the one hand, and capitalism on the other; and (3) the principle practised among the peasantry, according to which a stranger admitted into the family, if he has contributed by his constant work to the acquirement of fam-

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ily property, has more right to its heritage than a blood-relative who has not worked. What the Russian nation needs for the full development of its potentialities is the removal of that bad legacy of an unfortunate historical past — those fetters which keep social forces and individual enterprise in check. In other words, we need personal rights, liberty, and self-government. Are there, then, any facts to inspire us with the hope that we shall acquire these things despite the opposition of the Tzar and the whole antiquated bureaucratic machinery of the Empire? Certainly there are, and a great many.

At the end of the sixties and in the seventies, we believed that a courageous, well-organized body of revolutionists, devoted to the cause, could not only fight for, but also win, the battle of liberty. And if this were really possible without any support of the masses, the Narodnaya Volya, or People's Will, was the party to do it. For several years the whole world watched with subdued breath the duel between a mere handful of men and women, mostly very young, on the one side, and the Government of one of the mightiest empires, with enormous resources, on the other. It is no exaggeration to say that the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the devotion to the loftiest ideals, the purity of life, the unswerving skill and firmness displayed by these most gentle and noble young men and girls while engaged in a bloody struggle, have never been surpassed in history. Those who doubt it may refer to books like "Underground Russia," by Sergius Stepniak, and "Siberia and the Exile System," by George Kennan. And the revolutionists actually gained the upper hand in 1881. But that was a Pyrrhic victory. The party was exhausted, and there was no one to support it. The masses at that time did not understand it; and a large portion of the intelligent class, though sympathizing with it, was not yet ripe for action.

Times have changed since then. The economic policy of the Government, and its tariff war with Germany in particular, while fostering manufactures, with all their social concomitants, caused, a few years ago, a fall in wages, which made even the very frugal existence of a Russian factory worker impossible. This created remonstrances, then riots, and, finally, strikes. At first the latter were desultory; but very soon they gained so much in discipline, organization, and unanimity of spirit, that the great strike at St. Petersburg, in the summer of 1896, mainly in the textile trade, became possible. Twenty-nine mills, comprising 35,000 men and women, struck, and asked redress for their various grievances; while 100,000 other workingmen, mainly engineers, supported them by voluntary contributions.

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The spirit in which this bloodless battle was fought was so admirable on the side of the workmen that it won the acknowledgment even of the state administration. Meetings and public speeches are prohibited in Russia; and yet 12,000 engineers were assembled at the cemetery of St. Mytrofany, the speakers being raised in the middle of the gathering, while troops with loaded rifles were standing around, not daring to charge upon the unarmed crowd. Of course, the speakers were arrested that very night. In fact, arrests, domiciliary visits, and expulsions from the capital were progressing on a very large scale during the entire strike; but the prefect publicly admitted the grievances of the strikers. Yet, while admitting the workingmen's right of redress, the Government declined to acknowledge their right to get it by means of their own actions. It declined to do anything until the strikers returned to work; but a solemn promise was given that a law for the limitation of the working-day would be promulgated. This promise was carried out — not, however, until new pressure was brought to bear on the Government, in January, 1897, by eight factories and about 18,000 men. On June 2, 1897, the law was passed which limited the normal work-day to eleven and one-half hours, and the night work to ten hours, and made a certain number of holidays and Sundays altogether free from work.

One can hardly overestimate the enormous significance of this victory for the workingmen; and it was a victory, though both big strikes mentioned were put down by violence and starving out. The practical gains attained through this law are small, though it must be acknowledged that for a very large portion of the working population they constitute an improvement worth fighting for. But the greatest importance must be attributed to the fact that for the first time in Russia's modern history the workingmen have consciously and directly forced the Tzar's Government into an act of legislation. Those who doubt this fact should read the debates of the government commission on the new law. The representative of the Ministry of International Affairs, for example, insisted not only on shortening the working-day, but also on safeguarding the workingmen from any fall in wages, "because," he said, "otherwise new disturbances may arise." In another speech he said:

"The character of the governmental interference must be such as to make the factory workingmen regard the Government as their defender and protector, and thus come to the belief that they cannot obtain any betterment of their position by means of strikes, but that they must expect it from the hands of the Government."

The success of the two big strikes alluded to, and of many others, and the further development of the labor movement, have been to a great ex-

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tent due to the active part which the independent and daring portion of Russia's educated society — mostly young socialists — have taken in it. These people — undergraduates of both sexes, young lawyers, doctors, civil and technical engineers, journalists, even some factory inspectors, and other officials — did all that work for the workingmen which the operatives were not accustomed to do. They formulated the workingmen's demands on paper; typed or printed them clandestinely, with much risk to themselves; secretly published manifestoes on general questions of interest; supplied the strikers with literature; collected money for them; sent abroad communications about the course of events; and tried to consolidate and make permanent that organization which was originally only temporarily improvised for the necessities of individual strikes.

Thus the Working-Class Emancipation Leagues of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev were formed. Other places followed, and the movement spread all over Russia; strike after strike following in the most distant points of the Empire. In May, 1898, several groups of permanently organized workingmen, together with socialists belonging to other classes, federated, and thus formed the Social-Democratic Labor Party of the Russian Empire. This federation does not, however, include all the forces of the Russian labor movement. There are other groups, such as those that call themselves Revolutionary Socialists, and the one represented by the periodical, "The Labor Thought." The Tzar's Government wages merciless war against this movement, but it might as well fight against rain or snow; and the Government is beginning to understand that. While sowing, with one hand, destruction and misery among the active, leading sections of socialists and workingmen, it tries to find some compromise with other sections, in order to appease the masses.

The present political order of Russia is such that every independent action — whether on a religious, social, or economic ground — inevitably assumes a political meaning, and produces a political effect, as it undermines the very principle on which the all-absorbing, all-grasping, and absolute power of the Russian Government rests. According to that principle, the citizen is not a mature personality, but a child for whom everything is determined by the Government. He has no part in imperial legislation. It is the bureaucracy, headed by the Tzar, that frames, promulgates, and enforces the laws; and he must obey. His education, his political opinions, his religion, are prescribed for him; he cannot even move about without a permit from the Government, in the form of a passport. One understands that under such circumstances sectarianism assumes a political meaning. A peasant who, contrary to law, secedes

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from the established orthodox church, and declines to give up his new faith, puts the commands of his personal conscience above the commands of the Government, the Tzar included.

Every one has heard a good deal about the Stundists, the Shelapouty, the Doukhobors, and other dissenters of Evangelical type, some of them with a strong tendency toward Quakerism. These deserving people, who are the best specimens of their race, were, and still are, subjected to the most revolting persecutions. They have been beaten, imprisoned, systematically starved, inhumanly tortured, exiled, and their female relatives have been treated in a most shameful and brutal manner. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, heroic men and women have declined point-blank to comply with the orders of the Government and the official clergy which they have considered sinful. The movement has created thousands of able and fervent apostles, who, by reason of governmental deportation, are scattered throughout the Empire. It has converted millions of unthinking, passive creatures — who were until then driven about by the officials and clergy like cattle — into discriminating beings, with a sense of self-respect and a determination to oppose wrong. Many dissenters who, until last year, had concealed their real religious doctrines, profited by the last census to state their creed openly.

Besides, the upheaval of their spirit is being manifested by increasing proselytism, for which purpose some sects, for example in the Tomsk province, train their own missionaries. They also build new chapels, and write polemic books. The movement has found its way into the higher classes of the population, as evidenced by the names of Tchertkov, Birukov, Tregoubov, Prokhanov, Pashkov, Prince Khilkov, Dr. Volkenstein, and others. It has its powerful prophet in the person of Count Tolstoy. It has established its own free press, as the activity of Mr. Tchertkov, at Purleigh (in Essex), and the periodical "Bessyeda," formerly published in Sweden, show. It commands the active sympathy of the world, as has been proved by the world's press, by the emigration of 5,000 Doukhobors, through the substantial pecuniary aid of the Society of Friends and the money forwarded from England to the suffering Stundists, etc. True, this very emigration may be regarded as a victory for the Tzar's Government, as it has contrived to drive 5,000 courageous souls, who knew how to stand by their banner, out of the country, which needs such people badly.

Popular education, in the broad sense of the term, is another channel through which the self-consciousness of the masses increases. Notwithstanding every obstacle put by the Government in the way of enlighten-

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ment, it cannot stop its progress; nay, it is obliged to foster some departments of it, such as professional education, because of the requirements of the State. The greater number of the Zemstvos, of the municipal councils, and of village communities that have the means, vie with one another in establishing schools, founding free libraries, and spreading useful knowledge among the masses. Only a few days ago news was published in the Russian papers about seventy village-communities, in a region so far out of the way as the Enisseysk province, in Siberia, having petitioned the Government to start primary schools in their localities; and they made a discrimination between the lay and the ecclesiastical schools, and, quite rightly, discarded the latter. On the other hand, the Zemstvos of the Tver, Moscow, and Kharkov provinces have pushed the development of their network of schools to such a degree that in a few years they intend to introduce compulsory education.

People in private life, either individually or organized in all kinds of educational societies, are pushing energetically in the same direction. They maintain poor pupils, publish good reading matter at cheap prices, start popular theatres, lantern lectures, etc. One of these institutions alone, the Comitet Gramotnosto, has published over 1,000,000 books and pamphlets. True, this institution was forcibly closed by the Government; but its former members continue the work in other ways. The Government is successful in so far only as to manage to waste a lot of the energy of the enlighteners, but it cannot stop their progress. The army itself is a vigorous instrument of primary education, as the Government has to compete with foreign armies in having intelligent soldiers.

The press is under an unbearable yoke. But what it loses in the way of liberty is compensated for in the field of expansion. The number of provincial papers has increased tenfold compared to what it was during the most liberal period of Alexander II's reign. Consequently, a provincial Russian nowadays is far from what he used to be. He feels his connection with the rest of the world, and he has gained in initiative as well as in criticism. Moreover, the provincial press, profiting by the stupidity of the local censors, sometimes brings to light facts of the greatest importance, which would never come out through the metropolitan press.

Russia has no middle class such as is known in England — the class which has won the battle of liberalism. Russian capitalists, as a class, care for nothing but their profits, and feel perfectly happy under the present rule, inasmuch as bribery makes it very convenient for them. The people who feel unhappy are the intelligent, educated people, drawn

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from all classes, but consisting mainly of men among the liberal professions and the gentry. These persons also fill a great many official posts in the administration, but mainly throng into the Zemstvos and town councils. They have missed no opportunity in urging the Government to take the path of legality, progress, and constitutionalism. To them the best side of Alexander II, and the carrying out of the emancipation and other standard reforms, were due; and there is no doubt that they would form a ready staff for constitutional government, if such were introduced.

That this portion of the Russian nation has also advanced in political maturity has been recently proved by the so-called Students' Strike. On February 20 the anniversary of the founding of the University of St. Petersburg was celebrated. After the proceedings the undergraduates, as well as the teaching personnel present, left for their homes; but they found the ice cut on the river which they had to cross, and the nearest bridge blocked by the police. The students, together with the ordinary pedestrians, about 500 people in all, turned to the next bridge; but they were followed and derided by some of the mounted police. A commotion ensued, and then the officer in command called for his detachment, crying "To the whips." He then led a charge on the defenceless crowd, the police striking right and left with their heavy whips, and shouting, "Lay on to the students!" and "We will not be hanged for this rabble!"

The news of the outrage spread very quickly, and produced a great stir not only among the undergraduates, but among the general public as well. Although meetings and all organizations among the pupils of the highest educational institutions are prohibited, the students of the university held crowded, but very orderly, meetings, and elected an agitation committee. Resolutions were passed to the effect that the undergraduates would abstain from attending lectures until the following points were granted by the Government:

(1) That in case of force being used by the police a properly constituted court of justice should decide whether the use of such force was an actual necessity.

(2) That the decision of such court must be arrived at and made known within a definite time.

(3) That the rules regulating the conduct of the police toward the undergraduates be made public.

The first manifestation of sympathy with the university students and their action came from forty naval officers; then the Medical Academy joined in the strike. Over seventeen other of the highest educational institutions — both male and female — followed. At the same time

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emissaries were dispatched to all similar institutions outside the capital; and very soon the universities and various institutes of Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Kazan, Odessa, Warsaw, Alexandria, Riga, Dorpat, and distant Tomsk made common cause with St. Petersburg. A total of over 30,000 students abstained from attending lectures, and the Government was compelled to close all the higher educational institutions of the Empire. But still more telling was the fact that the older members of society, so far from blaming the youths and girls for their action, practically joined hands with them. Moreover, Mr. Witte, the Minister of Finance, who has been a rival of the late Home Secretary and has coveted his position, stepped forward in the capacity of the spokesman of society at large, and secured the support of four other higher officials in suggesting to the Tzar an inquiry into the whole matter, through an independent delegate. As before mentioned, General Vannovsky reported on the case conscientiously, putting the blame at the doors of the police and the Home Office, and recommending the adoption of a better policy toward the students.

But now the helpless Young Man of All the Russias would not listen to him. He issued a manifesto in which he blamed all the parties concerned in the Students' Strike, but mainly society at large for having "encouraged the disturbances by their approval, and by permitting themselves the uncalled-for liberty of intruding into the sphere of governmental activity." Attention has been again called to the episode, not to expose Nicholas II, but in order to bring home the fact, officially acknowledged, that educated society at large has shown itself far riper politically, far more alive to the question of personal rights, than on many previous occasions. The educated class scored on this occasion a victory similar to that achieved by the workingmen of St. Petersburg. Mr. Goremikin, the Home Secretary, during whose administration the Students' Strike occurred, has just received his dismissal. It is not expected that matters will be much improved under his successor; but the strength of the movement is shown by the fact that the inability of Goremikin to prevent that movement was considered sufficient cause for dismissal.

The tale of Russian imperial misrule, of the obstacles put in the way of progress, is long and harrowing; but despondency is not its moral. The waste of energy caused in Russia by the present antiquated system of government is enormous; it is sufficient to make one's heart bleed and one's blood boil; yet it is not sufficient to stop altogether the progress of the nation toward a freer and better and brighter day. In the relentless struggle between the vital forces of the people and the pitiless, all-grasping system of police tutelage, which makes every effort to keep

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them down, there is always a balance, however small, in favor of progress. And it cannot be otherwise, because the Government, and that unfortunate legacy of our history which it represents, however reactionary in its tendencies, inspired by the instinct of self-preservation, must inevitably, to a certain extent, and in certain points, uphold with one hand what it tries to crush with the other.

Russia cannot maintain her present position among the nations — the position of a great international power — without competing with them in at least a certain amount of culture, social development, and progress. But progress is the deadliest enemy of Tzardom, as a system of rule, or, rather, misrule. This explains why the Russians are so sensitive to international opinion. Official, reactionary Russia watches that opinion with anxiety, as a barometer showing how far she is acknowledged to be a really international quantity. Popular, progressive Russia looks at that opinion with hope, as at a manifestation of the precious bond existing between herself and the universal progress of mankind. Remember this, that every token of fraternal feeling toward the Russian people — every manifestation of sympathy with their hopes — is an indirect, yet real, factor in bringing nearer the realization of those hopes. And it must not be forgotten that by bringing it nearer something is being accomplished not only for Russia, but also for the whole of mankind.

"Russia is a country which is yet to be discovered," said a periodical published in the Russian language, on the free soil of England. It will be discovered only when the fetters of tyranny shall have been removed. Then only will come the full bloom of the moral, artistic, and social wealth now potentially embodied in the race. The removal of these fetters will be a most important step toward bringing about a universal civilization; and, to use the words of a conscientious student of Russia — "It will be good to live in that day of resurrection." FELIX VOLKHOVSKY.

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THE BOER WAR: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE PREDICTION.

A LONG period will probably elapse before the final verdict of history is passed on the justice or injustice of the Boer war. But one conclusion is already indisputable. The opponents of the policy of the British Government have not needed to wait long for a complete vindication of their forecast of the probable course of events. Whether they are traitors or imbeciles — an alternative proposed by a distinguished London preacher — they have shown that they made a saner estimate of the immediate situation than was reached by any cabinet minister or any newspaper that expressed the popular sentiment. There is material here for quite an interesting study in comparative prediction.

In the first place, the fact that there has been war at all testifies to the foresight of the party commonly known as "pro-Boer." When Parliament rose in the summer of 1899, Mr. Chamberlain was confident that the mere dispatch of 10,000 men would solve the problem, without fighting at all. This display of force was going to overawe the Transvaal into complete surrender. Mr. Stead and his friends saw that the policy of bluff would be futile, and that it could end only in hostilities.

The action of the Orange Free State affords a similar contrast in fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecy. That in the event of war the two sister republics would be united was a familiar prediction of the minority long before the date of the ultimatum. On the other hand, Mr. Balfour declared that he no more dreamed of the possibility of having to fight the Orange Free State as well as the Transvaal than he did of the possibility of war with Switzerland. When the thing unexpected by Mr. Balfour actually happened, it was hailed with delight by most of the London papers, as facilitating the task of the British commanders. It would be so much easier to march directly north through the Free State, instead of having to treat that territory as neutral ground.

But it is in the respective forecasts of the two parties concerning the nature, length, and cost of the war, as a whole, that opportunity is given for the most interesting comparison. When Mr. Stead said, in Septem-

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ber, 1899, that "for the next six months, at least, we shall have to keep a minimum of 50,000 men in South Africa," and that "there is considerable doubt as to whether we shall be able to recall any of them for a long time to come," he was thought to be raving mad.

A sufficient indication of the official estimate is given by the snub administered to General Sir William Butler. Sir Alfred Milner had instructed him to put a thousand men here and a thousand men there. He replied that, if there was to be war, three things would be necessary: (1) the immediate evacuation of northern Natal; (2) the occupation of the line of the Tugela by 20,000 men; and (3) the preparation of an army of 100,000 men to march on Pretoria. The rejection of this counsel led to Sir William Butler's resignation, in circumstances that made it equivalent to a dismissal.

A few extracts from the "Daily Mail," which more than any other paper represents the new Imperialism, make piquant reading to-day:

"It is certain that his (the Boer's) shooting has materially deteriorated, and that his waste of ammunition is ridiculous. His method of fighting, it is well known, is semi-barbaric. . . . A Boer commando will retreat in confusion if two men are killed." (September 21, 1899.)

"On the Natal side, the British troops are almost, if not quite, strong enough to attack. The combined armies of the two republics are not placed by good judges at much over 22,000 or 25,000 men. . . . There may be trifling reverses. We may feel assured that there will be no disaster — to the British flag." (October 11, 1899.)

"Their (the Boers') successes in the past were obtained against weak detachments, ill-handled, badly supplied with ammunition, or taken by surprise. They now find that our generals are risking no such small detachments, but that we are perfectly ready to accept battle with a fair field. They may, with their infantile strategy, calculate upon drawing our soldiers into ambushes, but they are likely to be grievously disappointed. At the outset they made the most disastrous mistake possible. Instead of concentrating every man on one point and advancing in one direction with the whole Boer force, they scattered commands in every direction — here 8,000 men, there 6,000, there 2,000, and so forth. By the time they have discovered their error the army corps will be upon them, ending forever the rule of a corrupt and incompetent oligarchy, which cries profanely to God to rescue it from the punishment which its countless sins have richly merited." (October 17, 1899.)

The military experts of the religious press were equally confident. In the "Methodist Times," the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes had no hesitation in asserting that the operations of "a few short weeks" would overthrow the Boer resistance. When after several weeks, which somehow did not seem very short, there was still little progress to report, he explained that he meant a few short weeks after Buller took command. That there would be a walk-over to Pretoria and that Sir Redvers Buller would eat his Christmas dinner in that capital, were, with the majority of the British public, essential articles of the patriotic faith. As the troops

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departed for the front it was the fashion to label the officers' luggage, "For Pretoria."

Strange to say, the war party learned nothing from the dissipation of its early illusions. Though its first predictions had proved so erroneous, it persisted in making itself ridiculous. The surrender of Cronje at Paardeberg, on February 27, 1900, was interpreted as the beginning of the end. The occupation of Pretoria, early in June, was everywhere regarded as the end itself. But those troublesome "pro-Boers," in spite of the justification of their original predictions, had the audacity to contradict the prevailing prophecies once more. Said Mr. W. T. Stead, in "War Against War:"

"The morning newspapers, on the strength of Lord Rosslyn's telegram from Pretoria, announced the end of the war. That is nonsense. The war is not ended. The notion that the fall of Pretoria is equivalent to the conquest of the Transvaal is one of the persistent delusions which have deceived our people. We held Pretoria all through the war of 1881, and much good it did us. We may hoist a hundred flags in the capital of the South African Republic without ending the war. . . . We are not out of the wood by any means. We are, indeed, but entering the wood, with all our real difficulties still before us. We shall be lucky if we are able to declare the country pacified before Christmas."

The popular illusions respecting the seriousness of the war were naturally accompanied by miscalculations as to its cost. Just before the war broke out Mr. Stead's prediction, that "we shall get off cheaply if it does not cost us more than 10,000 lives and £20,000,000 sterling" was considered as ridiculous as his other warnings. But some time ago the bill already exceeded £100,000,000, while a moderate estimate of the present cost puts it at £2,000,000 a week. As to casualties, the official returns up to the end of December reported 51,687, including 12,158 deaths.

It is by this time clear that in his speech at Carnarvon (October 6, 1899) Mr. John Morley made the right retort to the sneer that he was a Cassandra. "Cassandra's prophecies," he replied, "happened to come true." There were, of course, many "pro-Boer" predictions which have not yet been verified, for the reason that sufficient time has not yet elapsed to test them. As so many others have been fulfilled, it may be worth while to record these also. Quotations might be made from many sources. Speaking at Arbroath, on September 6, 1899, Mr. Morley shadowed forth the following events as likely to ensue from a war, even though it were successful:

(1) "You will have sown the seeds of division between the Dutch and the English in Cape Colony."

(2) "You will have turned the Orange Free State into an enemy."

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(3) "You will have stirred up a spirit of restlessness among the native population of South Africa."

(4) "You will have to set up a government which will be Ireland over again with what is called a loyalist district, and outside of that an enormous territory saturated with sullen disaffection."

(5) "For us to have 50,000 or 60,000 soldiers fighting in the Transvaal, with the certainty of having to keep a good many troops locked up there for an indefinite number of years to come, would assuredly not make us stronger, but considerably weaker, in any troubles that we might have with European powers."

Mr. Stead's forecast in his first pamphlet was practically identical, and not less vigorously expressed:

"As the result of war there are only two alternatives. Either we lose South Africa outright by finding the task of conquering the country and holding it beyond our power, or we create another Ireland within the Imperial fold, a disaffected, discontented community, which will seize every opportunity in order to harass the Government and create difficulties for the Empire. . . . Sooner or later we shall lose South Africa as we lost the United States." "The longer the war lasts," he said later, "and the more complete our victory, the more certain is our doom. The Imperial factor will be expelled from Africa by the combined forces of disappointed loyalism and exasperated Dutch sentiment."

Other public men, whose forecasts of the course of the war itself were equally unpopular and have been equally justified by events, speak with the same voice as Mr. Stead's respecting the ultimate issues. Mr. James Bryce's warning is that "the memory of bloodshed and of a war held to be unjust will fill an exceptionally tenacious race with a hatred far deeper and more lasting than the irritation which now exists — a hatred which may some day cost us our hold on South Africa." Mr. F. C. Selous, who startled his fellow-countrymen when the war broke out by predicting that it would last eighteen months, anticipates a time when the mineral wealth of South Africa will be exhausted, and when the Boers will be in an overwhelming preponderance — the Europeans having left the country. The end he foresees is that the British policy "will inevitably lose us the whole of South Africa as a British possession within the lifetime of many men who are now living."

It is quite unnecessary to set forth in contrast the predictions now made by those who believed in October, 1899, that the war would be over by Christmas of the same year, and who were equally sure in June, 1900, that there would be no more serious fighting. Whether their new certainties will have a better fate than the old ones, time only can show. What has already happened is enough to give point to Lord Rosebery's question in that section of his rectorial address which criticised the statesmanship of the day: "Do we," he asked, "anticipate or follow events?"

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

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THE NATIONS IN COMPETITION AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

ENGLAND'S decline in commerce is a theme so persistently discussed, not only by her rivals, but by her own statesmen and public men generally, that we may excuse our own people if they take up the cry and prepare to accept the heirship thus opened to them. They do not hesitate to parcel out the lion's skin, though the lion is not by any means dead; nor is his condition one that would lead us to hope of his leaving the field at an early date.

The chief error in discussing the question of trade arises from the fact that few are acquainted with the fundamental conditions producing results; hence the fact that a few isolated items in which deficiency has been discovered are taken as illustrative of general decline, and the question is treated as a whole without any attempt at specialization or analysis. The only countries that can be considered, in speaking of possible successors to British trade dominion, are Germany and the United States. France is content with a continued improvement of the well-being of her own citizens. She is well satisfied if remunerative employment can be found for her toiling millions along the line of her strength, in industries where the deftness of hand and the inborn taste of her people can easily hold the field as a monopoly; while she would be poorly fitted for a contest with nations engaged in a fierce struggle in the domain of the "Gross-industrie." Though by no means backward in adopting the best methods of production in the great industries, she adheres preferably to the older methods wherever the hand is well fitted to attain results and is not too much handicapped by machine production in price.

Many may think this a mistaken archaism; but it will be seen a little later on that France has economic advantages in her system that could not be outdone by a possible saving in the labor cost, were the factory to take the place of the house industry. In a report to the State Department on Boots and Shoes, in August, 1888, I showed that ladies' button boots were made at Lynn, Massachusetts, at a labor cost

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of 35 cents; the corresponding cost being 57 cents at Berlin, and 61 to 64 cents at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and at Leicester and Stafford, England.

Now, whatever the advantages accruing from these facts to our shoe manufacturers in the neutral markets of the world, it would be a mistake to suppose that a great trade could ever be established in the other countries on account of the cheaper labor cost in America. The factory price, even where no duties intervene to raise the export price, is increased by freight and other charges, and by the profit of the importer, who is seldom the distributer to the consumer. In fact, the latter is not infrequently charged with three profits, that of the manufacturer, the importing merchant, and the retailer. Now, the shoemaker working on his bench, having only his labor to regard, has a very great advantage even in countries where shoe manufacturing on the American plan has taken root.

This explains the slow development of the shoe factory in these countries. The enumeration of 1895 showed for Germany 237,160 shoemaking establishments, with 388,443 persons employed. Only 27,264 of these worked in aggregates of more than fifty persons; leaving but one person and a half to be accounted for by each of the 236,902 establishments still left in the field for the employment of the remaining 361,179 persons engaged in the industry. In regard to France, this holds good in a more marked degree; as the aversion to machine employment characteristic of France, and of her people to machine-made goods, does not exist in Germany.

The printed calicoes of Mulhouse are world renowned. They add to the trade lists of Germany. But their traditions are French. The care as to details is characteristic of French methods. The size of orders in special selections of colors and patterns, implying a change of rollers, color boxes, etc., would discourage even the printers of Elberfeld. The studios of the designers employed in the works, when Alsace was still under French dominion, have been closed and transferred to Paris, where the printers find that the ideals of beauty in color and design can be better expressed than they can be at the works themselves.

During a visit to Professor Reuleaux, in Berlin, in 1887, I was asked by the professor what I thought of German industries. "What you said in your report on German industries, in 1876, 'Schlecht und billig,'" I replied. This blunt expression seemed to shock the professor. On being asked how the information leading to this view was obtained, I answered, "At the show-windows of the leading stores"; and added, "It

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is to be presumed that the best and not the poorest pieces are exposed to public view."

In order to correct these first impressions, Professor Reuleaux kindly offered to take me around to the principal works in art-industries to show me the progress that had been actually made. Not satisfied with the first results of our tour of observation, he took me to a foundry where artistic articles were made. But here too few objects inviting our interest were forthcoming. He asked what had become of the real bronzes they had undertaken to produce some time before. The reply was: "Oh, we have given them up; we could not make any profit on them; and you American gentlemen are the cause of it. You want everything cheaper, cheaper, cheaper, till finally all profit is taken away, and our people will not buy costly pieces." "But Barbedienne in Paris," I replied, "employs the great artists to make the models, and they continue to increase the business through the fame of their work." "Oh, that is Paris. They have the fame, and we have to be satisfied with imitations and casts of composition metal."

This incident is worth repeating as illustrative of the position gained by France in industries in which the world pays her willing tribute. The system by which small manufacturers distribute work among working people, the products being collected by middlemen for home and foreign trade, is well calculated to remain popular. For causes to which I have referred, cheapness of the more modern system cannot plead for its suppression. The employment of large capital in the erection of mills is unnecessary here, and causes the manufacturer to prefer the old system; and work distributed into remote country districts even is a great help to large numbers of people employed in agriculture and other occupations during part of the year. In many industries, silk weaving for instance, gas and electric motors and other small-power engines, which furnish power at small cost, make it possible to combine, where an economic advantage can be shown, the benefits of both systems.

Germany, by means of her universities and polytechnic high-schools, has created a class of scientific experts whose influence is felt in the color and chemical industries on the one hand, and in metallurgy, machine construction, and the electrical industries on the other. She is extending machine employment, and is pressing England in many of her products in her own domain. Articles of every-day use exposed in all shop windows, and labelled "made in Germany," need not be very extensive articles of commerce, and can still be very offensive sights to the home manufacturer done out of the trade. I pointed out in a previous num-

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ber of THE FORUM,[1] that, with the exception of the metal industries, the great staple industries are safely ensconced in the hands of Great Britain, and that the share falling to Germany is not greatly increased as years go by. The latest trade reports show no perceptible change. The exports in cotton goods, bleached, colored, and printed, were 63 million marks in 1896, and 67 millions in 1898. In hosiery, the figures fell from 58 millions to 52 millions in the same period. This article is especially favored by foreign customers of Germany.

In laces and embroideries, where machinery has been advantageously introduced in competition with Switzerland, the trade has increased from 14 millions to 29 millions, because the fashions in these ornaments were favorable. Earthenware and porcelain fell from 45 to 43 millions. Gloves rose from 42 to 46 millions. Paper and paperware rose from 63 to 68 million marks. Articles of clothing, including underwear, fell from 120 to 95 millions. In silks and half silks the difference lay between 101 millions, in 1896, and 106 millions, in 1898; and in wool manufactures of all kinds the figures for the same years were 210 millions and 197 millions, respectively. In chemicals, colors, etc., the exports rose from 324 million to 329 million marks.

The total sum of exports comprising the chief manufacturing industries, outside of the metal industries, was 1,034 million marks (246 million dollars) in 1896, and 1,026 million marks (244 million dollars) in 1898. As the recent years have been years of great prosperity and commercial expansion for all of Germany, and as the reaction in 1900 from overstimulated trade was not even anticipated, this showing does not indicate a distinct forward movement. In metals and metal manufactures, inclusive of machinery, instruments, and apparatus of all kinds, the exports rose from 630.8 million marks (151 million dollars) to 737.3 million marks (177 million dollars).

The year 1899–1900 was perhaps the most prosperous year Germany has seen since the collapse in 1873, similarly ushered in by expansion and wild speculation, for which the metallic industries always offer so inviting a field. A few figures may illustrate the rapid growth in recent years. The production of iron ore in 1894 was 8,433,784 metric tons; in 1899 it was 11,975,272 tons. The production of pig-iron in the same time rose from 5,559,322 tons to 8,029,305 tons. But consumption over-reached this by 440,599 tons, which amount had to be imported from abroad, and was chiefly supplied by Great Britain. The ores consumed in this product were supplemented by those from Swe-

[1] "Exports and Wages," January, 1898.

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den, Spain, Luxemburg, and Lorraine. The output of coal in 1894 was 76,741,100 tons, and of lignites (*Braunkohle*) in the same year was 22,-064,600 tons; while in 1899 it was 101,621,866 tons and 34,202,561 tons, respectively, an increase of thirty-five per cent in the brief period of five years. A principal part of the coal is from the Ruhr basin, which is favorably situated for the support of the great iron and steel industries of Westphalia, itself possessed of extensive coal measures in the very centres of its industries. Coke production went hand in hand with this great demand upon the iron industries, and rose from 8,201,144 tons to 11,400,000 tons in the period just mentioned.

The management of the iron, coal, coke, and steel industries, and their larger branch industries, has been gradually brought into the hands of syndicates. These regulate the output. They divide the orders among the best-fitted concerns, regulate prices, and determine all questions of internal and external policy. With rising prices and a large demand the system has worked well. Altogether the syndicates have pursued a conservative policy. The export trade has been fostered, not infrequently to the detriment of home consumers. During the coal famine, iron producers, with banked fires for want of fuel, have had the mortification of seeing the loaded coal and coke trains pass their furnaces on the way to the shipping ports.

But the syndicates claim to count upon the times of declining trade, and say that it is more difficult to resume connections once broken than to secure new ones. The not over-abundant supply of good coking coal would seem to indicate that it would be good policy to look to home industry as a field to be favored. But nations trade as units only in the standard works and text-books of economic philosophy, while in reality they trade through the medium of individuals. Therefore, the process of denuding countries of their mineral wealth for the benefit of foreign competitors will undoubtedly be continued.

So far no better cure for ills of an economic nature has been found than unrestricted exchange of commodities. That the coal and iron producers of Germany have no cause to find fault with the system that guides production and distribution may be presumed from the dividends that have been paid, and the prices at which the shares have been selling, and are still selling, on the Bourse. The patriotic legend, that where the benefit of the whole country is enhanced the interest of the individual must give way, finds ready acquiescence. The good of the country may demand things diametrically opposed to each other. The fact is that the German manufacturer submits to the imposition of the syndicates, seeing

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that he can recoup himself in his prices, just as the American woollen manufacturer willingly submits to taxes on his raw material, as long as the consumer is laid at his feet in the fetters of a protective tariff prohibitive in degree.

Valuable information is furnished by Mr. C. Kirchhoff, the editor of "The Iron Age," in a pamphlet recently published by him, from observations on the spot, in the summer of 1900. According to a table representing fifty leading collieries of Westphalia, the collieries of the largest production averaged about 6¼ marks ($1.50) per metric ton. The mines of smaller capacity averaged about 7¼ marks. The selling prices at the pit's mouth for the same year averaged 9.70 marks, and in May of that year 10.30 marks.

The coke makers show still better evidence of thrift. The selling price at ovens in 1887 was $1.88 to $2.09 per ton. In 1898 it was $3.36 for furnace coke, and $3.90 for foundry coke. For 1900 the syndicate fixed the price of furnace coke at the oven at $3.36, and raised it to $4.08 for 1901. Mr. Kirchhoff says on the question of cost:

"It is pretty certain that coking coal at 8 marks, or say $2.00, per ton yields a moderate profit to the colliery, and that there is good reason to believe that with by-product ovens the value of the gas, sulphate of ammonia, tar, etc., more than pays for the cost of coking."

We can fully accept his views as illustrative of the situation when he says:

"It is quite evident that the coke makers of the Ruhr district, who are now getting $3.50 per gross ton and have contracted for next year's delivery at $4.25 per gross ton, are having, in slang phrase, a very good thing of it, and that they can afford liberally to subsidize those German iron works which are throwing the gauntlet into the international arena."

Wages have risen; but this factor has been insignificant in proportion to the great profits that have accrued to the coal and iron industries in recent years. Miners' wages averaging 88½ cents (3.73 marks) a day in 1894 have risen to $1.09 (4.55 marks); day-laborers' wages in the same time have advanced from 56½ cents (2.35 marks) to 64¼ cents (2.67 marks). As wages are usually gauged by the output, advances are apt to be lost in times of declining trade.

Enlargement and improvement of plants have been undertaken in some of the iron and steel plants. But, as a rule, manufacturers are willing to let well enough alone. The low wage rates allow them to attain scales of cost fully as satisfactory as those of their transatlantic competitors, without the necessity of tying up immense capital in pro-

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ductive machinery, which is apt to consume both profit and capital in times of commercial depression.

The "yellow terror" has receive a quietus lately by the helplessness and utter collapse of the Celestial Empire, caused by the attack of the few thousand Europeans sent to the rescue of the foreign ambassadors. However, there remains the "white terror," which the statesmen of the press have been actively pushing forward for years, to keep their readers in awe. Size and numbers, if sufficiently large, convey the impression of gigantic power. A centralized power of restless enterprise is thought to be opening up a new world power in an economic sense. The hundred million inhabitants of European Russia deserve to be noted, especially when we see great enterprises, supported by European capital, developing all over the Russian Empire.

Those, however, who judge Russia's strength from impressions gained by statistical reports scarcely understand her internal weakness. Scarcely fifteen per cent of her population live in towns; and of the inhabitants of towns a large proportion depend for a living on the soil. Poverty is but a mild expression for the state of their existence. The emancipation act freed the peasant; but while he is free from the ownership of the landlord, he is still a slave. The land allotted for cultivation by the peasant does not increase with the growth of the population. The admired institution of the Mir holds sway over him from his birth to his grave. The Mir assigns the strips according to the quality of the land, and directs every act of the cultivator, from ploughing to seeding and harvesting. Obedience to custom, inborn stolidity, and general ignorance have removed the improvement of method of cultivation from the field of probabilities. Thus, ridiculously small crops in a country favored with a soil of great richness become the evidence of the economic backwardness of a naturally gifted people. Years of famine come in more and more frequent succession. But whether plenty or starvation sets up its banner, the taxes, by means of which the barbaric show of a huge military empire is upheld, are collected with equal strenuousness.

The mineral resources of the Empire would seem to enable Russia to satisfy her ambitious desires. Coal and iron are found in abundance; and great works have been erected at Ekaterinoslav, in close proximity to the Donets coal-fields. But labor is not very productive here. Better progress has been made in the district of Poland, where German capital and management largely direct industrial enterprise. From 1890 to 1897, the production of pig-iron in the Empire rose from 926,000 to 1,747,000 tons, and of coal from 6,015,000 to 8,287,000 tons. Of the latter, Po-

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land contributed nearly one-half. Charcoal is still largely used in pig-iron production. As the coal of Poland is not fitted for coking, large quantities of coke are imported, for the use of the iron-makers, by way of the Baltic from England, and by rail (about three-fourths of the total) from Germany.

The efficiency of labor diminishes with the distance from the Western frontier. Coal mining depends so much on the character of the mines — the thickness of seams, etc. — and the method of working, that the output per hand cannot always be taken as an index of the working capacity of the man. Yet the discrepancy is so great that the difference cannot be credited entirely to the differences in application of steam power, the varying thicknesses of the coal veins, etc. "The output of the Polish and Donets coal-fields always nearly equal each other."[1] Yet, for the same period, 8,692 hands were employed in the former, and 25,167 in the latter.

The investigations made in the cotton industries by Professor Janschull, of the University of Moscow, and by Professor Schultze-Gaevernitz show similar effects of working capacity. Here Esthonia and Poland again show the greatest approach to Western efficiency of labor. In Russia, the expense of management is especially high. In two Russian mills it is quoted, for six months, at 519 and 465 roubles, respectively, per 1,000 spindles; while in English mills it is quoted as low as 14 roubles ($7). The official Russian report to which I have alluded states the cost of labor per poud (36 pounds) of No. 24 yarn as 81 kopecks, *i.e.*, $2\frac{1}{4}$ kopecks, or $1\frac{1}{8}$ cents, per pound. Other items in spinning mills in the Petersburg district (Narwa, Esthonia), exclusive of fuel, however, add $1\frac{3}{5}$ cents, so that the total cost per pound stands at $2\frac{19}{20}$ cents.

On personal investigations in American and English mills, the writer found the labor cost in a mill at Lowell, Mass., spinning an average of No. $32\frac{1}{2}$, to be 1.992 cents, and all other items of expense covered in the Russian account, 0.955 cents = total 2.947 cents. A Lancashire mill spinning an average of No. $37\frac{1}{2}$ had an average cost of 1.708 for labor, and 1.38 cents for other items, total 3.088 cents. These are much higher numbers than the Russian yarn here quoted, but are produced at about an equal general cost. This brings the total spinning cost of No. $32\frac{1}{2}$ in Massachusetts and No. $37\frac{1}{2}$ in Lancashire to about the level of No. 24 yarn in the Moscow mills. The cost of No. 32 in the Russian mills is 2.94

[1] "The Industries of Russia," an official work compiled for the World's Columbian Exposition, under the auspices of the Russian Government.

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roubles per poud, or $4\frac{1}{12}$ cents the pound,[1] in the same items of labor and expense. High rates of duties place the internal trade completely into the hands of Russian manufacturers. But it would be futile for them, under the circumstances described, to attempt competition in a world where the ukase of the Czar does not hold sway, except after a complete revolution of conditions.

In THE FORUM for January, 1898, the increase of the export trade of the United States during the period from 1885 to 1897 was dwelt upon by the present writer. In articles of manufacture in metals, chiefly machinery, agricultural implements, instruments, and apparatus, the exports had increased from $14,893,000 to $51,828,000. In the same lines the figure for 1900 was $74,681,000. In all other manufactures in metals, $5,950,000 and $21,444,000 mark the figures for 1886 and 1897, respectively. In 1900 the total for these articles rose to $41,891,000. Crude iron and steel, *i.e.*, pig, bar, and hoop iron, and steel in plates, sheets, and rails were exported in 1886 to the extent of 13,026 tons, and in 1897 to the extent of 289,893 tons. The exports in these in 1900 amounted to 747,095 tons. The exports of copper were $31,075,636 in 1897, and $55,772,166 in 1900. The increase of eighty per cent in value is, however, accompanied by an increase of twenty per cent only in the tonnage exported.

Exports of refined petroleum — which is classed with the manufactures in the Treasury statements of exports, as is the case also with crude copper, in ingots and bars — amounted to $51,242,933 in 1898, and grew to $67,740,106 in 1900. But that this increase in value benefited any one outside of the owners of the stock of the oil companies may be doubted, in view of the fact that the exports in gallons were about ten per cent less in 1900 than in 1898, *i.e.*, 900,978,875 in 1898 against 817,594,099 in 1900.

Copper and petroleum are gifts of nature, and the distribution of these products abroad depends, of course, on the absorbing capacity of foreign countries. In the basic materials of iron and steel, as well as in their manufactures, America is favored beyond comparison. The latter now

[1] It will be instructive to compare the average weekly wages paid in Russian, American, and English spinning mills.

WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN COTTON MILLS.

	Moscow.	Poland.	Lancashire.	Massachusetts.
Mule spinners	$2.00 to $3.75	$4.25 to $4.50	$7.68 to $9.72	$10.38
Cardroom hands	.87 " 1.25	2.00 " 2.50	$3.60	5.04

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form the bulk of our exports in manufactures. To bring the materials to a point where they could be advantageously united and manufactured into products of use, capable of entering foreign markets in successful competition with similar articles produced by labor remunerated at a much lower rate of wages than ours — this was the work of genius. Efforts in this direction have been made for a decade at least, but they have been brought to the notice of the world in the last few years only. All other manufactures, including cotton goods, leather and its manufactures, and wood manufactures, amounted to 89 millions in 1897, and to 124 millions in 1900.

Much has been said about our capacity to conquer foreign markets against Great Britain in cotton goods. Beyond an expansion in the coarser yarn fabrics our progress has not been very rapid. To one knowing the field and the merchandise this is not surprising. Our trade in uncolored goods in 1896 amounted to $9,539,000, and in 1900 to $13,229,000, an increase of $4,000,000, or about fifty per cent. But this is due to one single field absorbing more of our goods. Our exports in cotton goods to China were $3,854,000 in 1896 and $8,783,134 in 1900. The chief exports of Great Britain go to southern countries, where lighter weights and finer counts are in demand. England is able to sell a sightlier fabric and for less money than we can sell it. The thread is more even in their fabric than in ours, and the goods in general have a better finish. In colored goods, haste and immensity of production preclude the possibility of our turning out fabrics that are as pleasing to the expert's eye as those produced by England, or of catering to the tastes of as many peoples as are catered to by England. Our trade in these has not materially risen since 1894, when it amounted to $3,855,000; for in 1900 it amounted to $4,839,000 only.

The class of cotton goods which China buys of us is one in which cheapness is the most important consideration; evenness in the thread and absence of weavers' imperfections being of secondary importance only. And here the recently developed cotton industry in the South finds a very responsive field. But it would be an error to suppose that no greater efforts toward perfection than those made by our mills for the supply of our own wants would be necessary to conquer and hold other markets in the cotton-goods trade. It is one thing to control a field when all outside competitors are excluded, and quite another thing to be confronted on equal terms by products showing the results of hereditary skill and of all the technical advantages which a hundred years of effort and experience have disseminated throughout the trade.

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It would be futile to expect the United States to look for other markets than her own in the other textile branches. Even if the price were satisfactory, much progress would be required to bring the color and finish in silks up to the standard of European goods, such as are turned out by Lyons, and in half-silk goods, by Crefeld. In woollens one need only observe the fabrics displayed in the stores or worn by the people to note the low character of the materials turned out by over-protected mills. Cotton and shoddy are displacing wool to an increasing extent. Although little foreign clothing-wool is imported, yet the domestic stocks are accumulating in storehouses and in the producers' hands.[1] The dog-in-the-manger policy has seldom brought other results.

It was only when keen competition and oversupply compelled us to turn our eyes to other trade openings that improvements were brought about. The iron industry up to ten years ago suffered in such ways. The hard times following 1893, more than anything else, have brought on changes which no one connected with the industry had thought possible. The Wilson tariff in 1894 nearly stranded on the rocks of senatorial opposition, on account of the persistence of Democratic senators in obeying the industrial demands for high rates of duty on coal, and on iron and steel and their manufactures. Now that our goods can be landed at English mill doors on a par with English goods, few of the insatiables would be hardy enough to plead for a maintenance of these duties, were it not that reasons have never been wanting, in the face of facts, to prove to the willing ears of the lawmakers the desirability, if not the necessity, of their continuation.

What, now, is England's danger in industrial competition? England can only pay for her ever-increasing food bill with the produce of her mills. What is her position? Is she really falling behind? Perhaps her politicians and statesmen would not become alarmed if they were not prompted by the fact that leader writers and "experts" are filling the columns of the metropolitan press. But lords and cabinet ministers cannot be expected to be well informed on the trivial matters that make up a nation's work-shop accounts. However, they could know a little about the general figures of the world's trade which are to be set against England's figures. And here, outside of iron and steel and their manufactures, one cannot well understand why England's forecast should be so gloomy.

[1] On the basis of what appears to be a careful investigation, it was estimated by a trade journal that the stocks of wool in the country at the end of December, 1900, were 352,000,000 pounds against 157,000,000 pounds in the same month of the preceding year.

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The totals of exports of Germany and Great Britain have grown since 1895 as follows (in millions and their decimals):

	Germany.		Great Britain.	
1895	Marks 3,424.1	$821	£226.1	$1,096
1897	3,786.2	908	234.2	1,135
1898	4,010.6	962	233.3	1,131
1899	4,368.9	1,048	264.5	1,280
1900	4,555.3	1,093	291.4	1,413

The cotton-goods trade of England supplies the greatest single item in these totals. Such exports exceed in magnitude those of the metal industries. Cotton manufactures of all kinds and yarns amounted in 1899 to 67½ million pounds sterling, while all metals and manufactures exported, including machinery, cycles, and apparatus (but not ships), amounted to 61 million pounds. It is true that the average of cottons and cotton yarn exports for the five years preceding 1891 was 72 million pounds. But it must be borne in mind, in connection with this, that the average export price of cotton for the five years preceding 1891 was 10 cents, while the average for the years up to and including 1899 was 7.3 cents, and for 1899 but 6.88 cents per pound. It is but natural that trade with countries fostering their home manufactures by high tariffs should become reduced. But the trade with countries outside of this pale is enlarging. That this trade is held very closely by Great Britain is not only proved by the figures underlying this statement, but is further corroborated by the insignificant showing of Germany and the United States, the only possible competitors of England. Her peculiar capacity for leading other nations in those manufactures in which she has taken deep root by reason of conditions intrinsically her own cannot be denied and must be recognized.

There is a certain fitness, dependent, perhaps, on climate and a hereditary aptitude among working people, which cannot be transplanted, try as we may. In worsteds, especially in the woollen line, no other nation could come anywhere near English perfection at the low prices at which these goods are produced. On the other hand, England has never been able to compete with Germany in the soft fabrics made of fine wools for ladies' dresses, cashmeres, henriettas, and the like, or with France in challies. Still, with all the drawbacks that may be named, supported by the loss of trade with America — which, under all the tariffs preceding the Dingley tariff, had been a lucrative customer of England — the exports in woollens, worsteds, and yarns amounted in 1900 to £21,700,000.

In articles of wear, including hats, exports were slightly higher in 1900 than in 1896, amounting to £8,036,000 in 1900 against

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£7,852,000 in 1896; thus equalling in these lines the exports of Germany, France, and the United States combined. In boots and shoes a decline has been perceptible in recent years. For 1896, the exports were £1,799,030, marking, with two exceptions, the highest figure ever reached. In 1900 the amount was only £1,488,000. We are justified in ascribing this circumstance to the successful competition of the United States, whose exports rose from $1,436,636 in 1896 to $4,274,174 in 1900. The greater part of this went to British colonies, but $950,267 went to England direct.

Important as the questions arising from these conditions may be, they sink into insignificance before the all-around preponderance of iron and steel and their manufactures. All the progress of the age is dependent on two minerals, coal and iron. Those who possess these dominate the world-trade. Their products, turned into rails and machines, have changed the aspect of the world. It is small wonder that the demand for them should be a growing one. I cannot here enter into the question of the extent of the natural resources at the disposal of the countries now successfully employing these gifts of nature in the world's trade. I shall only speak of the capacity of these countries at the shipping point. Until a few years ago the leadership of the world was incontestably in the hands of England; and she may well be amazed at seeing her own domains broken into by such upstarts, as it were, as Germany "saddled with her military burdens," and America "with her high wages." Until recently, our country was one of England's best customers. Is the growth of these rivals a sign of England's retrogression? Or can they maintain their new position only by keeping in mind England's established priority and eminence?

Trade figures show that the latter assumption is the correct one. In metals and their manufactures, excepting machinery, England's exports were 31 million pounds in 1896; 30 million pounds in 1898; 37 million pounds in 1899, and 45 million pounds in 1900. In machinery and mill-work 1896 showed £15,463,000, while 1898 showed £16,592,000, and 1900 showed £19,621,000. The mainstay of her industry (coal) was exported in larger volume in 1900 than in any preceding year; amounting to £38,600,000 in 1900, against £23,093,000 in 1899, next to the highest figure ever reached. Most of this increase is due to the great rise in prices. The tonnage was 46 million tons in 1900 against 43 millions in 1899. The exports in 1890 were only 30 million tons.

The tonnage in all forms of iron and steel has been equally well maintained. In steel rails, however, a falling-off is distinguishable from the

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high-water marks of 1887 to 1891. This has been due largely to the unevenness of demand inherent in this article, and in the last three years to the competition of America, which carried off many of the contracts that otherwise would have been taken by England. That this has been possible is accepted as a proof that England is not able to maintain herself against her youngest competitor.

These assumptions are all based on the trade history of the last few years, *i.e.*, since shipments of iron and of steel have been made to England. They have been years of high prices in England; and if she was able to buy our pig-iron and other forms of iron and steel in 1898 and 1899, and pay freight and charges, then this only proves that she was so well employed that for a long time she could command better remuneration for her work than we could here, under all the depressing influences affecting the iron trade in America up to the spring of 1899. But it proves nothing about the potentiality of England. Her capacity for profit-taking when the conditions are favorable is not surpassed by any country, not even by us. The strength of the chain is its weakest link, and the latter is uncommonly strong in England. With all her antiquated appliances, a dozen years ago, and her humdrum methods of labor and management, the cost of production was not much higher than it is at the best-appointed works in America to-day, and would not have exceeded one dollar in a ton of steel. Moreover, England's collieries, coke works, iron mines, steel works, and furnaces are, for the most part, situated at tide-water or at the mouths of rivers.

For collecting the materials at the shipping point, England has facilities not equalled by any other country. In the Cleveland district (Middlesborough and neighborhood), which produced thirty-seven per cent of the entire iron production of 1898, the furnaces are so situated that they can receive the iron ore — from the mines as well as from the ships bringing foreign ores for their Bessemer iron — direct at the furnace yard. Coke from the Durham ovens can be delivered at the furnace, in normal times, at ten shillings ($2.43), inclusive of freight.

The cheapest iron in America is made in Alabama. In 1898 it was sold as low as $6.50 for No. 2 iron. Bessemer iron in the same year was as low as $8.50 in the Ohio Valley, and $9.50 in Pittsburg. The low prices at which iron was selling were sufficiently remunerative, it seems, to enable the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company, the largest single producer in Alabama, to pay its interest charge at six per cent on a bonded debt of $10,000,000. The subsequent rise of Southern iron to $17.50 and of Bessemer iron to $25 is no more indication of a change

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in capacity than is the British change in selling price. In 1886, Cleveland iron of the same class as Southern iron sold in Great Britain at 26 shillings per ton ($6.32). It was said that it could not be made at that price. Indeed, the cost sheets which I collected from a number of the largest makers in and around Middlesborough show as high as 33 shillings. But the ore and coke prices seem to have been taken at market rates and at higher figures than those at which they were actually obtained, as most of the large producers are owners of ore beds and coke works.

Mr. Kirchhoff places the cost at 30 shillings ($7.20). One producer of pig iron had given me 28 shillings as his price in 1888 in his statement of the cost of making bar iron. With allowance for increase in wages, the present cost may be slightly larger; but as this increase is largely counterbalanced by certain improvements which have been since introduced, the cost is probably not in excess of $7.50. The selling price at the end of 1900, when prices had somewhat slackened, was 65 shillings ($15.80). The cost of labor per ton of pig-iron, judging by statements obtained from the best furnaces, was on the average 3s. 6d. (85 cents). This brings the labor cost of Cleveland iron to 97 cents, and of Bessemer iron to 79 cents. With the improvements which have been made since then, by adopting higher blast, etc., it is now possible, according to the authority just quoted, to make iron at a labor cost of 61 cents.

American furnaces have seen great improvements. The carting of the material to the lift has been done away with. The newer furnaces raise the materials on inclined planes, and dump them at the cupola, with the aid of automatic appliances. Labor cost now averages about as low as that just stated for Middlesborough. The labor cost in Westphalia, Luxemburg, Lorraine, and in the adjacent French iron district is from 60 to 75 cents. The Luxemburg, Lorraine, and French furnaces could produce cheaper iron if they were not handicapped in coke, which has to be transported from the Ruhr district, or from Belgium, at a cost of 8 marks per ton.

Besides the transportation of one material or another to the collecting point, the French and German iron and steel works are obliged also to consider the distance from the furnace to tide water. This applies in a greater or less degree to Northern furnaces in America, but not to Alabama or the other Southern iron districts. The distance to tide water is, however, a handicap to Northern and Southern producers alike, as against England. Improvements through science and inven-

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tion cannot possibly annul this advantage. The possible saving in labor cost from the ore to the finished steel can be in fractions of a dollar only. According to data obtained on personal visits to works, the cost in England, in 1888, was about $3 per ton; and the cost of making steel rails of basic iron, allowing 1⅓ tons of pig-iron to the ton of rails, was but $3.79 from the ore to the finished rails. American and German steel makers cannot greatly improve upon this figure, though England may have been remiss in remodelling her plants.

The great expansion in the exports of machinery by Germany and America is due to the fact that the world is becoming more and more a machine and tool using world. Driven by her high rate of wages, America has paved the way. But England and Germany are adopting our ways, and are modifying our system to meet their special needs. But with the great diversity of needs the world over, it is not necessary for one to decline in order that another may have a chance. The truth of this assertion is seen from the fact that England's exports of machinery, implements, apparatus, etc., which in 1875 were 38 million dollars, had increased to 100 million dollars by 1900; that Germany's 16½ million dollars in 1875 grew to 60 million dollars by 1900; and that America's 10 million dollars in 1875 grew to 50 million dollars by 1900. The foreign trade of the three leading countries in machinery has grown from $64,000,000 to $210,000,000, and of this England has still the lion's share. Indeed, she does more than half of the world's trade in this line; for we must remember that she adds $45,000,000 annually to these exports in the shape of iron ships which she builds for foreign account.

The subject cannot be pursued into details here, as the general reader is not interested in technical matters. But this question of trade is now the pinnacle of thought, and I believe it is serving a useful purpose to remind the good people of America of the continued existence of old John Bull and his persistent work at his bench.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

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THE MACHIAVELLI OF CHINESE DIPLOMACY.

THE peace negotiations at Peking call to mind the inexperience of the ministers who are negotiating with the Chinese statesmen. The American minister has had about three years of contact with the East; the British minister has been in Peking less than a year; the Russian minister has been at his post a shorter time than the American; and the French representative is a novice in dealing with the Celestial.

Opposed to these keen but new diplomatists sits the wrinkled veteran, Earl Li Hung Chang, with his associate Prince Ching. Of Li's seventy-eight years, the last forty have been largely spent in crossing swords with European and American representatives of statecraft. This prince of Oriental word-warriors has fought with Sir Frederick Bruce, Sir Thomas Wade, Sir Harry S. Parkes, Sir John Walsham, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, Sir Claude MacDonald; Hon. Anson Burlingame, Hon. George F. Seward, Hon. Charles Denby; MM. Rochechouart, Patenotre, Fournier, Cogodan; Marquis Ito; Count Muravieff, and scores of other first-class diplomatic lances.

He knows every thrust and every parry; he has hunted out every seam in the armor; and he can cut into every unprotected, vital point. He has come into the negotiations to represent the humiliated power; but there is reason to believe that he is better prepared to fight a losing battle than would be all his opponents combined. The white emissaries have shown by two great failures that they are not yet prepared to cope with the yellow man. In September, 1898, they knew nothing of the *coup d'état* until it was past; and they, by doing nothing, permitted the reign of reaction, conservatism, and terror to gain headway. In 1900 they refused to believe that this reaction and conservatism were culminating. Not until the Boxers imprisoned them in Peking did they realize that there was a Boxer uprising. They are now backed by force, that is their hope of success — I say it with all respect. Given a fair field and no favor, Earl Li would deftly set them to quarrelling as to who should lead in the assault, who should have his hat, coat, and shoes, with the result that he would remain intact, while they would wonder how it all happened.

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Earl Li is a striking, if not a great, figure. He is a fascinating study. The foreign diplomacy of China, for forty years, has been his. In Chinese politics he is a past master. He came into prominence as Governor of Kiangsu, in the sixties. This is the province of which Soochow is the capital, and Shanghai and Nanking are the commercial and literary metropoles. Because of his services in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion, a vaster struggle than our Civil War, he was made guardian of the heir apparent — a position similar to that recently held by Prince Tuan — was granted the Yellow Jacket, and was made assistant Grand Councillor of the Empire.

In 1868 he stepped into a Viceroyalty, and, with Wuchang as his capital, ruled over Hupei and Hunan, as Chang Chih Tung is now doing. Imperial commands took him from his post; and, at the head of his armies, he put down rebellions in the northern provinces of Shantung and Shansi, and was made a full member of the Grand Council of State. In 1875 he was made Metropolitan Viceroy and moved from Wuchang to Tientsin. This position corresponds locally to the governorship of the Empire State, but nationally it is of much more importance, for the Metropolitan Viceroyalty under Li Hung Chang has assumed a first place in international diplomacy. The nation, now in despair, now in defiance, for over twenty years entrusted its knotty problems to him. The Viceroyalty of Chihli assumed greater and greater importance, although Li's predecessor was none other than Marquis Tseng. Li was created a noble of the first class, and appointed to take the initiative in foreign negotiations.

We find him displaying a profusion of talents. On one occasion he publicly worshipped a snake; on another he ordered a modern fleet. He battled with diplomats; was snubbed by the palace clique; and after China was defeated by Japan, in what was his war, was bidden to humble himself and plead for peace. The war was over in 1895, and in 1896 he attended the coronation of the Tzar, after which he made a tour of the world. Back in China again, he was degraded, then promoted, and finally seated in the Chief Grand Secretary's chair. Playing too much into the hands of Russia (for money?), he was removed from the Tsungli Yamen in 1898. A year later, 1899, Li was made Viceroy at Canton, from which post he was called to his present positions of Viceroy of Chihli and Peace Commissioner.

He has thus been ruler of the best six provinces of China, Chief Secretary of State, a sort of Prime Minister, and chief negotiator with foreign states. He first introduced a steam merchant marine as a Chinese

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enterprise; steam railways began under his patronage; he worked the first coal mines, opened the first arsenal in central and northern China, bought a modern fleet, started the first Chinese cotton manufactories, and built the fortress at Port Arthur, now the base of operations for his Russian friends. Has any other living statesman, not excepting Marquis Ito, faced such an array of difficult internal and external problems, been more ardently hated, or more highly praised, than Li Hung Chang? At present he controls the peace negotiations from the Chinese side, not only in Peking, but in Washington and in London. His former private secretaries, Wu Ting Fang and Lo Fung Loh, are the Chinese ministers at these capitals. It is with Earl Li's foreign relationship that we are chiefly concerned.

His first diplomatic fencing was with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister at Peking — who, strangely enough, did his utmost to make Li retain an American knight errant, Burgevine by name, as head of the ever victorious army. Li insisted on dismissing Burgevine and installing General, then Major, Gordon over his army. Although Sir Frederick got the Imperial Government to support his way, Gordon was retained, and the Taipings were defeated again and again. Li formed a high appreciation of Sir Walter Medhurst, then Consul General at Shanghai, and was influenced by his judgment. But Gordon and Li fell out over the latter's treachery on the capture of Soochow, when the Wang Kings were murdered. General Gordon resigned; General Brown at Shanghai and Sir Frederick at Peking upheld him; and an appeal was made to the throne. Li here won his second diplomatic victory, securing the approval of his course in an edict which granted him unprecedented honors. Nor did he stop there. Securing Mr. Robert Hart, now Sir Robert, as mediator between himself and General Gordon, the latter was induced to return to the command of the Army, under Governor Li. In this third sparring match with a foreigner, Li came off successful.

In his fourth antagonist Li, while still Governor of Kiangsu, and with all the éclat of his success in the Taiping Rebellion, met a diplomat who was his equal. Sir Harry Parkes was not the man to be bluffed or bullied. Li had the effrontery to make fun of Sir Harry's Order of the Bath as one of "the nondescript ornaments which he himself had invented and had issued to foreigners in his employ." Though he did his utmost to escape interviews even with Sir Harry, yet the latter dogged his path, took up a post in his Yamen, gained his interview, and had his way. Li had always known how to use foreigners as his servants; but

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his discourtesy to Admiral Keppel at Hankow was another evidence that he had not outgrown his Oriental bigotry in dealing with high officials.

Li first represented his Government in national diplomacy after his transference in 1870 to the Metropolitan Viceroyalty. The massacre at Tientsin of the French Consul, sisters of charity, and missionaries created too large an international problem for the statesmen at the north; so Earl Li was called from Wuchang to Tientsin. M. de Rochechouart, the French Minister, said, in the settlement of the case, that however difficult the Viceroy might be to deal with, it was far easier to arrange matters with him than with the (Tsungli) Yamen.

In 1873 Li negotiated an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan, in spite of which Japan, a year later, invaded Formosa. Li was for going to war with the Sunrise Kingdom; but the Peking conservatives decided against him and paid $300,000 to Japan as an inducement for her to withdraw. Li about this time busied himself in making a treaty with Peru.

Earl Li allowed his cupidity to lead him to another diplomatic defeat. He had not taken the measure of Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister at Peking. Consul Margary had been foully murdered in the southwest Province of Yunnan, with the connivance of officials and soldiers. Sir Thomas did his utmost, both at Peking and at Tientsin, by peaceful means, to bring the Government to terms. At last Viceroy Li was deputed to lead in the negotiations. But with that exasperating audacity and duplicity which have often cropped out in Chinese diplomacy, the Imperial Government threw Li over, saying that it did not follow that what His Excellency Li might negotiate at Tientsin was to be given effect at Peking.

Sir Thomas, set at naught in Peking, withdrew to Shanghai. The Peking wiseacres trembled in their boots, not knowing that the British Government had sent out positive instructions that the negotiations must be conducted without recourse to force. Li was finally given "full powers," and the two negotiators met at the half-way port of Chefoo. Li dodged and parried as long as he could, then threw down his arms and negotiated with sense and skill. Sir Thomas Wade asked for more than he wanted, carried his points, and then made a voluntary concession, which greatly pleased the Chinese, although his own Government was slow to see its wisdom. Nineteen months after Sir Thomas began negotiations, the notable Chefoo Convention was signed; and a "letter of apology" from the Emperor of China to the Queen Empress of Britain was dated a month later. These negotiations resulted in no detriment to

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China, but in great furtherance of foreign trade and the protection of aliens.

The Chefoo Convention was scarcely filed in the archives of the Forbidden City, when China found herself on the verge of war with Russia. Li took exactly the opposite ground from his warlike attitude against Japan in 1874, four years previously. The Peking war party was for expelling Russia from the province of Kuldja, in Thibet, which the Slavs had been holding until such time as China should be prepared to govern that province properly! Russia demanded a gift of 5,000,000 roubles and a large land concession for her voluntary occupancy of Chinese territory! The men with mediæval heads at the Celestial capital were all for trouncing Russia instead of making her the gift, as suggested. But Earl Li knew better. He stood against the whole Manchu power; came within an ace of losing his head; was ably supported by Marquis Tseng, at St. Petersburg; and staved off Russia without a land concession, by paying 9,000,000 roubles. Li's support of Russia may be dated from 1878. Since then he has never failed to remember her proximity or her power.

The modern Korean policy of China may be said to be Li's, and it has been a failure. Before entering on so important a matter, it may be noted that Li negotiated, in 1884–1886, the treaty with France which lopped off Tongking; yet it added to Li's reputation, for he triumphed over his opponents at Peking, and took the measure of M. Ernest Fournier and M. Cogodan, the French envoys.

But to return to Korea. A friendship, or, at least, a respected acquaintance, was formed between Count, now Marquis, Ito, the maker of Japan, and Earl Li, in the year 1885, when a joint treaty was drawn up, by these two worthies, in regard to Korea. "It is hereby agreed that China shall withdraw her troops now stationed in Korea, and that Japan shall withdraw hers stationed therein for the protection of her legation." It was also agreed that the King of Korea should be responsible for order in his own kingdom; that he should employ army instructors from a third country; and that neither of the two contracting parties should send troops to Korea without due notice being given to the other.

This settled the Korean question for the time being; but it came up a decade later, when it was negotiated in much the same terms, but with infinite loss of prestige to China. In 1882, Li, having been the only Chinese Governor to invest largely in foreign arms and ships, was forced to put himself on record in regard to the future war between Japan and China, which was then spoken of in whispers. Li thus memorialized the Emperor:

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"It is necessary for us to make preparations for a war with Japan, and consequently we must develop our naval armaments in order to be able to carry out this object. For some years past we have already been actively engaged on these preparations, and our best efforts have been directed toward reorganization of our navy and army. Enormous sums of money have been spent in order to enable us to display our power, and to assert our superiority over our neighbor, whenever the favorable moment for this attempt shall have arrived. . . . In one of the ancient maxims it is said, 'Nothing is so dangerous as to expose one's scheme before it is ripe.' . . . My humble opinion is, let us not lose sight of our plan of invading Japan, but let us not commit the mistake of doing this in a hurried manner. First of all our navy must be thoroughly organized before we can think of an invasion.

If your Cabinet Ministers and Viceroys will agree together, and your Majesty will rule over them all, in conformity with your august decisions, then the invasion of Japan can be thought of; but it is decidedly better not to place the responsibility of this enterprise on my shoulders alone."

The foolishness of such dreams of conquest ought to have been apparent to Viceroy Li. Perhaps they were; but he was in the difficult position of trying to fight off France, satisfy the Japanophobes at Peking, and justify the vast expenditure for war implements which he was making. But in 1894 the Chinese broke the treaty with Japan of 1884 by landing troops in Korea without notice. The rag-tag armies were annihilated; Li's own troops were defeated; his fleets at the Yalu and at Wei Hai Wei were sunk; and his fortress of Port Arthur was taken by assault. Thus did Li Hung Chang invade Japan. A year later, this veteran of seventy-two summers was forced to visit Japan to sign a humiliating peace after a humiliating fuddle of a war.

Again Marquis Ito and Earl Li were supreme in the negotiations; and the treaty that resulted was the most humiliating among sovereign powers since the Germans withdrew from Paris in 1871. Li, of course, was in the dust. Where else could he be? But, however that may be, he was soon to change sackcloth for embroidered silk. Li encouraged such diplomatic manœuvres as Japan underwent with Germany, Russia, and France, as a result of which she was obliged to relinquish the territory in Manchuria and Shantung which China had made over to her. Li was again in the ascendant. But he was outreached, or sold out; in any case he went down the scale again. He saw Russia and England slip into the place Japan vacated, and Germany occupy a well-located domicile. Li's Korean policy may have been a very good thing for himself, but as diplomacy it was a fizzle. He lost Korea, Liaotung, and Port Arthur, Wei Hai Wei and Kiaochow, Formosa and $133,000,000 of his country's money.

The race of this fallen statesman was not yet run. He was *persona grata* at the Tzar's coronation in 1896, and undertook a sort of trium-

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phant tour around the world — General Grant style. There was a notable difference, however: General Grant was victor, Earl Li was a vanquished hero. On his return he was kicked and cuffed about by the palace clique to compensate them for his foreign-gotten honors. Then he went back as Grand Councillor, and member of the Tsungli Yamen, better called the Board for Befooling Foreign Statesmen. But in 1898 he was removed from the Yamen. Sir Claude MacDonald explained this action in a dispatch to Lord Salisbury in the following words: "He has recently shown himself markedly antagonistic to our interests."

People said that this was the last of Earl Li. But those who ventured so sanguine an opinion were chiefly newcomers on the Asiatic stage of action. Within fifteen months Li went to the rich Viceroyalty of Liang Kwang. He quietly withdrew from the northern storm centre. The Manchu Mandarins called the tornado about their heads; and now Li has been sent for, to gather up and preserve the remains.

Li is now in his seventy-eighth year; and, seated in the Council Chamber at Peking, he studies the faces of the younger statesmen opposite him. China thinks she has no other statesman upon whom to place the first responsibility; and, though Britain would have none of him, there he is as Chief Peace Commissioner. He is the most unique living Oriental personage — the most trusted and the most distrusted, the most liberal and the most bigoted, the most successful and the most often defeated statesman of the Chinese Empire. He has borne a greater load of government than any, but has the respect of few. Such a man is the Chinese Machiavelli, undimmed though white with age.

ROBERT E. LEWIS.

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THE CAREER OF KING EDWARD VII.

THERE were popular rejoicings in England when the Prince of Wales was born, in 1841. There was wide popular gratulation when the heir to the throne married, in 1863, the charming daughter of the Danish King. There was rejoicing throughout the land, and there was a sympathetic thrill of pleasure through the Empire of the Queen, when he recovered from his serious illness in 1872. There have been great popular receptions given to the Prince in Canada, in India, indeed in every important place within the bounds of the United Kingdom, as well as in the United States. For over half a century he has, in fact, been the centre of observation, the theme of constant discussion, in the press, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in private. The light which illumines a throne has continuously shone upon him during all these years with intensity.

If, during this period, the British nation has given much, it has also exacted much. If the people, as a whole, have rejoiced with the Prince in his rejoicings, and sorrowed with him in his sorrows, they have also awarded him the sternest criticism — sometimes with that undue severity which is fairly characteristic of British prejudices and British convictions when once fairly aroused. But, as a rule, the people of the United Kingdom understood the responsibilities and limitations of the Prince's position. They knew the burdens he had to bear in acting upon multitudinous occasions as the representative of his royal mother. They appreciated the importance of his duties as leader of society and the nature of his success as a leader in British sports. They knew his skill as a public and after-dinner speaker, and realized something of his wonderful tact and distinct diplomatic achievements at home and abroad.

No heir to royal power in Great Britain or elsewhere has ever had such beneficial and bright surroundings as those which blessed the early career of the Prince of Wales. Reared amid the domestic life of a home which has ever since been a pattern to the people of the realm; trained by parents who were imbued with the loftiest ideals of Christian life and morality; educated under the watchful supervision of a princely father whose knowledge was as wide as his experience was varied and valuable;

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surrounded by tutors such as Charles Kingsley, and by guardians such as General Bruce; brought up amidst the advice of men like Bishop Wilberforce, Baron Stockmar, and others of high attainment and character, who were frequently consulted by the Queen — in view of all this it is apparent that everything possible was done to make him a prince among men as well as a prince in rank and position.

Every opportunity of travel was given to him. As a child he accompanied the Queen and Prince Consort to Scotland and Ireland, to the Channel Isles, and to the English Lake country. In 1857, with the Hon. F. Stanley — now Earl of Derby — he travelled through Switzerland and Germany, under the care of General Grey, Colonel Ponsonby, and his tutors. After his return he again visited Ireland, and especially the Lakes of Killarney. In 1858 he went to see his sister, the Crown Princess of Prussia, at Berlin. Early in the next year he visited Rome, and was received by the Pope with great courtesy. From thence he went to the south of Spain, saw the Alhambra, and was entertained by the King of Portugal at Lisbon. Then came education of another kind, which completed his academical course — a year at the University of Edinburgh; a period at Christ Church and Pembroke College, Oxford; and another at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1860 he made a tour of Canada and visited the United States, under the care of the Duke of Newcastle.

Then came the great misfortune of his life. The death of the Prince Consort, amid all its far-reaching consequences, had no more important one than the leaving of the young Prince without a father's guiding hand. As Harriet Martineau well said three years afterward:

> "It seemed as if he, on reaching manhood, was fated to lose his best and most needed personal friends. He has lost his father, and General Bruce, his governor, and now the guardian and companion of his early travels [the Duke of Newcastle]."

Very wisely, however, and despite the distraction of a personal sorrow which was far too intense for words, the Queen at once arranged a foreign tour for him; and the young Prince was sent to the East for five months, attended by his governor, Colonel Keppel, Major Teesdale, and Dr. Minter. The Nile was visited, together with Cairo, the Pyramids, Thebes, and Karnac. Then came a month in the Holy Land, accompanied by Mr. (afterward Dean) Stanley; and this was succeeded by a visit to the Viceroy of Egypt and to the Sultan at Constantinople.

It was about this time that Laurence Oliphant met the Prince at Vienna *en route;* and, after accompanying him as far as Corfu, he made

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an interesting reference to his character and attainments. Said the genial author:

"I was delighted with him, and thought he was rarely done justice to in public estimation. He is not studious, nor highly intellectual, but he is up to the average in this respect, and beyond it in so far as quickness of observation and general intelligence goes. Travelling is, therefore, the best education he could have, and I think his development will be far higher than people anticipate. Then his temper and disposition are charming. His defects are rather the inevitable consequences of his position, which never allows him any responsibility or forces him into action."

Since that time the Prince of Wales has assumed an ever-increasing load of responsibility, and has never been accused, even by his sternest critics, of inaction or of indifference to his endless routine of public duty and ceremonial. Meanwhile, also, the training of the heir-apparent in constitutional matters had not been neglected. To Prince Albert this had naturally been a congenial part of his son's education, and one which he personally supervised. Men like Canon Kingsley were employed for instruction in purely historical matters; but the practical application of these teachings lay in the wise advice, and no doubt frequent conversations, of the Prince Consort. So far back, indeed, as 1849, when the boy was only eight years old, his father asked Baron Stockmar to prepare a memorandum on the subject; and the views pronounced in the following paragraph may be fairly said to have constituted the basis of the Prince's training in this connection:

"The Prince should early be taught that thrones and social order have a stable foundation in the moral and intellectual faculties of man; that by addressing his public exertions to the cultivation of these powers in his people, and by taking their dictates as the constant guides of his own conduct, he will promote the solidity of his empire and the prosperity of his subjects. In one word, he should be taught that God, in the constitution of the mind, and in the arrangement of creation, has already legislated for men, both as individuals and as nations; that the laws of morality which He has written in their nature are foundations on which, and on which alone, their prosperity can be reared; and that the human legislator and sovereign have no higher duty than to discover and carry into execution these enactments of divine legislation."

Such were undoubtedly the constitutional principles taught to the youthful Prince; and, though not perhaps immediately applied or practised by him, they have borne the most ample fruit during the last three decades of a public life which formally opened in February, 1863, when the heir to the throne took his seat in the House of Lords amid every sort of pomp and ceremony. A month later his marriage with the Princess Alexandra was celebrated, and thus marked the introduction into his life of an influence which cannot be over-rated. The manifestation of

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the popularity of his bride was begun in the words of the Poet Laureate's welcome—

> "Clash, ye bells, in the merry March air;
> Flash, ye cities, in rivers of fire;
> Welcome her, welcome the land's desire—
> Alexandra!"—

and the feeling has since continued to a great degree in the hearts of the British people and the homes of the British Empire. The first public speech of the Prince in England was given on May 2, 1863, at the Royal Academy banquet. It has been succeeded by such multitudinous functions, speeches, and ceremonies that his personality is as familiar to the people of the United Kingdom as his name is in the literature and public prints generally of nearly a half century. In this sort of work, which included much of travel and toil of a nature not always appreciated — because not understood — the years have been spent.

Prince Albert Victor was born in January, 1864; a visit in September of that year was paid to Denmark and Sweden; a tour of Cornwall was made in the summer of 1865. In 1867 the Princess was ill with a severe attack of rheumatic fever, which left her lame and delicate for many months. During May of that year the Prince visited Napoleon III, at Paris, and helped the Queen to lay the first stone of the Royal Albert Hall at Kensington. In 1868 a visit was paid to Ireland and Wales, and a prolonged tour of Europe commenced, which included France, Germany, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden, and which was continued into Egypt, Syria, and Turkey. In May, 1869, after more than six months' absence, the royal couple reached England and were soon performing once more their many acts of ceremonial and kindly patronage. Another visit to Ireland was made in 1870, and various visits were paid from time to time to the homes of nobility and gentry in different parts of the country.

During these years the Prince of Wales had done much and seen much; but it is a question whether he had really settled down to the serious business of royal life and to the great responsibilities, but ill-defined duties, of an heir to the throne. With his thirtieth year, however, came that crucial point which meets every man at some period of his life, whether he be prince or peasant, peer or pauper, and which in this case proved the metal to be genuine and the man worthy of his high post and calling. That prolonged and memorable illness in 1872; the anxiety and loyalty of an entire nation; the devoted attendance of his royal mother, and of his wife and sister; the narrow escape from an early death and the

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closing of what could not yet be termed a great career; the wonderful enthusiasm which stirred the heart of England during the Thanksgiving services in London — all these had the effect, which might have been expected, of rousing all the best instincts of his nature, and of developing the teachings of his great and good father.

Since that eventful period the ever-closer attention of the heir-apparent to his duties has been such as to win the admiration and popularity of the whole people. His devotion to wife and family and home — when it was possible to escape to Sandringham from his burdened life of ceremony and public work — has won him equal respect from all who have understood the true circumstances of the case; while his leadership of society and sport tended, upon the whole, to clarify the one and elevate the other.

Not that the Prince of Wales has ever been one of those persons who believe that they have a certain mission in life which it is their duty to force forward upon all occasions and in the teeth of all prejudices. His urbanity and tact, combined with his high position, have, however, given him the widest possible influence; and this has generally been used to frown down cant and hypocrisy, to promote generosity and cultivated tastes, to encourage a hearty and really English mode of living. He has always played cards and admired beauty — whether in woman or in art, in literature or the drama. He has enjoyed the theatre as well as the opera, the Derby and the Doncaster as well as the debates of Parliament. He has appreciated the society and friendship of Mr. Reuben Sassoon as he has the society and friendship of Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour. But it has all been in an open, honest, hearty manner, and with a *bonhomie* characteristic of the Prince and impossible of repression even by his life of dignified ceremonial and constant round of public work.

Criticism he has had, and will continue to receive, even in his infinitely higher position of the present. To please every one he would have had to be at once the chief of saints and the prince of sinners. But a steadily growing volume of popularity has been his; and the keener the modern searchlight upon his life, the better the people seem to have liked him and to have admired his thoroughly typical English tastes and habits. One of his great friends during an earlier period was the learned, eloquent, and popular Bishop Wilberforce, whose Diary contains many homelike sketches of the Prince at Sandringham, and of the domestic, happy life of its inmates. Writing in 1864, he speaks of a visit there, and of the Prince's dogs and horses and gardens; his simple country life, and his rides and drives and walks; the various family excursions and

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picnics. In 1872 he said: "The Prince shines as a host in the midst of his family, and the Princess is charming." This long friendship was closed by the Bishop's death in 1873.

During the next two years the Prince worked hard in promoting the success of the Vienna International Exhibition, as President of the English Commission; showed his love of art by helping the Landseer Exhibition of Paintings; devoted much time to the study of manufactures and industries, and paid a State visit to Birmingham, where Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was then mayor; became President of the Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the artisan classes, and spent much time in studying and promulgating schemes which, in some measure, he had already put into effect at Sandringham; was appointed Grand Master of the English Freemasons; and spent some time in Sheffield studying its famous steel industries. In 1875 he made a prolonged tour through India; thus bringing England into touch with the swarming millions of her Eastern Empire, and helping to transmute ignorant fealty to an invisible power into personal loyalty to a beneficent sovereignty.

Upon his return the Prince settled down to a new course of public work. Under his auspices the Norwich Hospital was rebuilt; the foundation stone of a new post-office at Glasgow laid; a training ship for boys established by the Marine Society; a statue to Prince Albert unveiled at Cambridge; the British Commission of the Paris Exhibition assiduously and successfully supervised; the Midland Counties Art Museum at Nottingham opened; also the new docks at Great Grimsby and a new harbor at Holyhead; the foundation stone laid of the Chelsea Hospital for Women; also that of the South Kensington Institute of Science and Art. These functions are selected as being merely indicative of the nature and variety of his duties. In such cases the co-operation or patronage of His Royal Highness meant thousands of pounds to each particular charity or interest, to say nothing of the inevitable donation from the Prince himself of anywhere between £50 and £200. The aid of the Prince and Princess of Wales, in fact, almost ensured success to any enterprise which they might patronize, and consequently increased the responsibility of choice and the necessity for discrimination.

With the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 began that series of efforts to embody in practical public form the development of the resources of the British Empire which owes so much to the past work and direction of the new King. He was naturally inspired by the example of the Prince Consort in this connection, and was helped by his own preliminary experiences at Vienna and Paris. Speaking of the latter, while

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laying the foundation stone of the Melbourne Exhibition in 1879, Sir George Bowen declared it to be well known that the success of the Parisian enterprise was due "in no slight degree to the personal tact and energy of the Prince of Wales." After several years' work as president, His Royal Highness opened "the Fisheries," as it was popularly called, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, and with the support of most of the members of the royal family. An extract from his speech illustrates the nature of the occasion:

"In view of the rapid increase of the population in these sea-girt kingdoms, a profound interest attaches to every industry which affects the supply of food; and in this respect the harvest of the sea is hardly less important than that of the land. I share your hope that the Exhibition now about to open may afford the means of enabling practical fishermen to acquaint themselves with the latest improvements which have been made in their craft in all parts of the world; so that without needless destruction, or avoidable waste of any kind, mankind may derive the fullest possible advantage from the bounty of the waters. I am glad that your attention has been directed to the condition of the fishing population."

By October following, the five-months' run of the Exhibition had resulted in the presence of 2,703,000 visitors, a substantial financial success, and much valuable aid to the fishing interests of the country. The Health Exhibition of 1884 owed its general plan and inauguration to the Prince of Wales, though the death of the Duke of Albany prevented his active participation in its later development. He, however, formally inaugurated the work of the international juries on June 17; and the result of the whole undertaking was an impetus to science and education, and a great aid to the public comprehension and use of health-saving appliances and methods. In the succeeding year came the Inventions Exhibition, the very name of which implies its scope and importance, and in 1886 the crowning achievement of all — the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. It was a great undertaking, and for two years it was the subject of strenuous labor and thought on the part of the Prince.

No new idea is easy of accomplishment; and to obtain the co-operation of all the various governments of the British Empire in united and harmonious work and in monetary subscription was in itself a great victory, — to say nothing of the success which followed in a financial sense, through the attendance and patronage by millions of visitors; the knowledge thus disseminated regarding the resources and products of the Empire; the communications created and promoted between all its distant portions; the increase of loyalty and unity and the furnishing of the first substantial basis for the succeeding movement toward a better and greater relationship.

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It must be remembered, in this connection, that in 1885 the tide of imperial knowledge and sentiment was only beginning to rise, and that it is due to this initiatory practical action and to the hard personal work and great influence of the Prince that success eventually came to his enterprise. The Exhibition was attended by some five and a half millions of people. It promoted a correspondingly wide interest in the Colonies, and it was succeeded by the Imperial Institute, the Colonial Conference, and various trade congresses of the Empire. At St. James's Palace, on January 12, 1887, after "the Colinderies" had come and gone, the Prince, in speaking to his newly organized committee for the creation of an Imperial Institute, or permanent exhibition of the arts and industries and interests of the Empire, said:

"No less than 16,000,000 persons from all parts of the kingdom have attended the four exhibitions over which I presided, representing fisheries, public health, inventions, and the Colonies and India; and I assure you I would not have undertaken the labor attending their administration had I not felt a deep conviction that such exhibitions added to the knowledge of the people, and stimulated the industries of the country. I have on more than one occasion expressed my own views, founded upon those so often enunciated by my lamented father, that it is of the greatest importance to do everything within our power to advance the knowledge as well as the practical skill of the productive classes of the Empire."

Six months later the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute was laid by the Queen, amid most imposing ceremonies, accompanied by the presentation of an address from the Prince of Wales, as president of the Committee and the Institute, in which he stated:

"It has been our desire, in pursuance of the ideas which gave birth to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, to combine in some harmonious form a broader and more enduring representation of your Majesty's Colonies and India, as well as the United Kingdom; and our confident hope is that this Institute may hereafter not only exhibit the material resources of the Empire, but may be an emblem of that Imperial union of purpose and action which we believe has gathered strength and reality with every year of your Majesty's reign."

The opening of the magnificent building in 1893, which the Queen honored by her presence, was the occasion for another striking demonstration of imperial feeling, as well as of national regard for colonial well-being, unity, and advancement. It was followed by the Prince of Wales' statement at another function:

"We are, in fact, a vast English nation, and we should take great care not to allow those who have gone forth from among us to imagine that they have in the slightest degree ceased to belong to the same community as ourselves."

And, as evincing the sincerity of his feelings on this subject, the action of the Prince regarding a proposed testimonial to himself, in connection

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with his work on behalf of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, should be recorded here. The Earl of Cadogan had assumed the chairmanship of a large and influential committee for this purpose, and money was freely coming in, when a letter was received from His Royal Highness declining, with every possible appreciation, to accept anything of the kind, but suggesting that what had already been contributed might go to the funds of the Imperial Institute. Of course, his suggestion was at once adopted.

Meanwhile, other interests had not been neglected; and the Prince, during these years, found a constantly increasing burden of duties — a burden which he always accepted cheerfully, and which he carried with a degree of tact, and apparent, if not real, pleasure, that brought him a popular regard as warm and sincere as the affection long since won by the charming courtesy and graceful, kindly deeds of the Princess. Charity and benevolent institutions of all sorts — asylums and homes and refuges for the blind or convalescent; hospitals and deaf and dumb institutions; educational, intellectual, and literary undertakings; arts and crafts and all kinds of industrial interests; orphanages, commemorations, and women's agencies or institutions; religious, moral, and social organizations; volunteer and rifle associations, or naval and military organizations — all came under the influence of a judicious and careful patronage and royal support. In a volume dealing with this subject, fifty closely printed pages have recorded the known donations of the Prince and Princess of Wales to charitable or otherwise useful associations, covering an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Amid his innumerable engagements and interests, the Prince was always the same in manner and style of bearing, combining with rare skill the dignity of a prince with the jovial manner of a popular English gentleman. A martinet in discipline and etiquette, and a master in ceremonial and heraldry and all the pageantry of a court, he yet ruled his realm of society and royal functions with a strong but pleasant manner, which, while strengthening his personal popularity, fully maintained the dignity and high traditions of his environment.

At Marlborough House he was the central figure in a great world of society, art, science and literature — which, in all its variations, received a share of support and attention — and of an inner circle of personal friends which included Lord Carrington, the one-time Governor of Victoria, Sir Frederick Johnstone, the Marquis of Londonderry, late Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Rosebery, the Earl of Warwick, Mr. Christopher Sykes, the Duke of Devonshire — better known as Marquis of

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Hartington — Lord Cadogan, Viceroy of Ireland, and the Duke of Abercorn, who has twice held that position.

He was to be found during a part of the year at Sandringham, surrounded by his model cottages and well-managed estate, his shorthorns and thoroughbreds. He there represented a type of those country gentlemen whom hard times and agricultural depression are now so greatly reducing in number. Between these two extremes of modern life, he was constantly travelling in order to lay corner-stones, open public buildings, inaugurate public enterprises, or preside at some one of his innumerable committees — everywhere distributing his patronage with unfailing grace and good humor. One day it was a speech at the Royal Academy of Art, or perhaps of Music; another he was heading a movement to honor the memory of the noble-hearted priest who died among the lepers; again, he was presiding at a colonial banquet or an international medical congress; addressing the Rifle Volunteers; opening a London church; inaugurating the Darwin memorial as a tribute to science; attending the consecration of Truro Cathedral; presenting new colors to an old regiment; unveiling a statue to Sir Bartle Frere; attending the West Norfolk Hunt dinner; visiting the Derby; or opening the Great Northern Hospital in London.

To understand clearly the character of King Edward, Sandringham — his country seat in Norfolk — has, however, to be seen and inspected. The lot of the laborers on the estate has been a happy one, and their welfare so carefully looked after that the cottages they live in have been all rebuilt. The neighboring village is prevented from having a public house — though the Prince established a workingman's club, where a glass of good beer can be obtained under certain restrictions, coupled with plenty of wholesome entertainment in the winter-time. The kennels, the aviary, the stud, the model farm, and the dairy — including a splendid herd of Jersey cattle — have all alike been managed with recognized ability. But it was in the home life of the place that was found the real keynote to his character. Kindness, hospitality, and thoughtfulness pervaded the great establishment; and the first-named quality controlled the entertainment of visitors as it did the treatment of domestics, and even the management of race-horses or thoroughbred cattle. All the churches on the estate have been restored at the Prince's expense, and that at Sandringham village contains many memorials to those who have gone, including the Princess Alice, the Duke of Albany, the greatly esteemed Emperor Frederick, and last, but not least, a simple marble cross to the memory of Blagg — the groom who was stricken down with typhoid

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fever at the same time as the Prince — and bearing the significant words, "One was taken and the other left."

In his family relationship the Prince has for many years been all that a man should be; and the education of his sons, while not perhaps of the same ideal character as his own at the hands of the Prince Consort, has been of that hearty, simple, English character which, as the British world likes to believe, assures the reasonable possession of good morals, good common sense, and a sound English training. The daughters came under the more direct control of the Princess, and received all the advantages of her own beneficent home life and experience in Denmark, and the training necessary to enable them to fill a similar place with grace and knowledge. Prince George, the present Duke of Cornwall and York, early showed a resemblance to his father in character and hearty temperament; but Prince Eddie, as the late Duke of Clarence was called, became the pet of his mother and of the Queen, and was, during his short lifetime, the possessor of a tender and affectionate disposition, which all too surely accompanied a fatal delicacy of physique. A faithful son, a good father, and a staunch friend the new King upon the whole has been; and this may be said despite some early lapses and the easy errors of youth amid exalted surroundings and innumerable temptations.

The fact of the matter is that the life of the Prince of Wales was a practical embodiment, in his own high sphere, of the jovial, yet dignified and honorable, life of the average English gentleman. It had to be adjusted to innumerable demands upon his time and to the ceremonial etiquette of his position, but aside from that he has represented the English character and lived the English life. Hence his popularity with the English masses. Even the matters for which he has been condemned freely and criticized most harshly have not seriously detracted from this popular sentiment. Two of these occurrences are memorable — the baccarat case and the winning of the Derby. Of the former, too much has been said and written; and it is certainly not necessary here to add to the controversial reams of rampant abuse or milk-and-water defence. Those who believe all card-playing to be vicious, and any game of chance in which money is involved to be gambling, will hardly be persuaded that the now historic game of baccarat was anything but wicked, under whatever conditions or circumstances.

Those who consider games, like wine, to be good or bad, according to their use or misuse; who realize that a prince as well as a peasant must have some amusement; who are not prepared to condemn off-hand

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either the race-course, the theatre, the game of cards, or the ball-room; who understand that a private game of baccarat, in a private house, with a group of private friends, is not gambling after the Monte Carlo type, and cannot properly be termed setting a bad example to the nation; who appreciate the very English quality of standing by a friend, and like the Prince all the better for having tried to save Gordon-Cumming from the consequences of his folly — such persons will find plenty of room for defence of the Prince, and even for considerable admiration of his manly course throughout the entire affair.

Between the religious press and the Nonconformist pulpit, which so greatly criticized the Prince in this connection, and the almost equally large sporting class — an honorable and representative one in its way — which defended him strongly, was a large and undecided portion of the people. Some played cards, but did not believe in dancing; others went to races, but would not have "gambled" under any consideration; others indulged in the theatre, in cards, and in the ball-room, but drew a very sharp line at the race-course. Among these people severe criticism of the Prince of Wales would be simply ignorant prejudice or hypocrisy; and probably they were very generally indifferent to the issue. However, the storm came and went, natural reaction followed the excitement, and the public came ultimately to comprehend that while the heir to the throne did his public duties so admirably, ruled society so well, and upheld with dignity the functions of royalty amid myriad temptations to idleness or worse, he was entitled to have his private recreations, even though particular individuals did not quite approve of their nature.

So with his success in horse-racing. The winning of the Derby — the blue ribbon of the turf, as Lord Beaconsfield first called it — is the end and aim of all true British sportsmen, and a magnificent experience for any man to go through. When Lord Rosebery won it, there were many protests from those who could see no good in an event which unquestionably produces much yearly gambling and betting, but which, in itself, is the climax of the most manly and thoroughly English of all pleasures and sports. The hunting-field and the country races, developing by gradations into the national *fête* on Epsom Downs, have done much to promote English physique and health and muscle, to say nothing of the characteristics of sporting honor which have made the English race-course so famous all over the world. It had long been the ambition of the Prince of Wales to win the Derby; and his victory in 1896 with Persimmon marked not only the greatest race in the history of the Downs, but one of the most popular events in the life of the heir-apparent.

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Meanwhile, various important events had occurred. Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence and Avondale, the favorite and most delicate son of the Princess, had reached man's estate, had taken part in a number of functions, and had become engaged to a charming cousin — the Princess May of Teck. All the world looked bright and the sky serene, when death suddenly stepped in, and removed him from the pleasures and burdens of a great position, one which his health might have prevented him from adequately filling. But it was none the less a great sorrow to the family, where, as in the case of the Duke of Albany with the Queen, he left a blank which it was hard to fill. With it, however, came the mournful pleasure of a world-wide sympathy, and renewed evidences of the stability of the throne and the popularity of the royal family. So pronounced, indeed, were these expressions that a formal letter of thanks was published, the Prince and Princess of Wales announcing themselves as anxious to express to Her Majesty's subjects, whether in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, or in India, the sense of their deep gratitude for the universal feeling of sympathy manifested toward them at a time when they were overpowered by the terrible calamity which they have sustained in the loss of their beloved eldest son.

Following this came the active part taken in public affairs by Prince George, as the new heir-apparent to the throne, his creation as Duke of York, and his eventual marriage to the Princess May. Before the latter had happened, however, Princess Louise of Wales had been married to the Earl (afterward Duke) of Fife. In 1896, the Princess Maud — gay, vivacious, and popular — was wedded to Prince Charles of Denmark.

During all these years of change and work and pleasure, of restricted responsibility and unlimited duties, the Prince of Wales was steadily acquiring prestige and diplomatic influence abroad. Like the Queen, he had come to be a recognized power in international politics, although, unlike her, he had no real place in such a field. But his relationship with some sovereigns was so close, his friendship with others was so great, his tact was so admirable in matters of importance as well as in trifles, that he was able to do much good. He is known to have been exceedingly popular with the excitable and sensitive French people; he is said to have reconciled the German Emperor with his English mother, the Empress Frederick; he is stated to have acquired considerable influence over the young Czar of Russia; and he steadily developed, after considerable misrepresentation, a decided popularity in the United States.

At home the new King has made his mark as an effective, though not eloquent, public speaker. To be both an orator and a prince would

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be about the most dangerous combination which could beset a modern leader. It is probable that the conjunction would not last long. The heir to the throne should be cautious in his language, and measured and dignified in style. This the Prince always was. He rarely, if ever, used a wrong word, or said too much or too little. He spoke to the point, with directness and precision, and had to deal in the course of a year with almost every conceivable variety of subject and occasion. He has been a wide reader in a sort of general way; and there are few new books of importance which are not looked over or read, and possibly discussed, at Sandringham. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew has somewhere stated his surprise at meeting there a thoughtful dignitary, filling to the brim the requirements of his exalted position — in fact, a practical as well as a theoretical student of the mighty forces which control the government of all great countries, and of their best history.

Politically, King Edward has been an observant, impartial, and non-partisan leader of the nation. No one really knows his party views, though he undoubtedly has opinions of his own, and perhaps very strong ones. His chief known principle is imperial unity; his chief practical work has been the promotion of popular knowledge and the alleviation of existing troubles among the working classes; his chief social aim seems to have been the removal of class animosities, the diffusion of good manners, and the cultivation of more rational habits than those of the day when hard drinking, intoxication, and blasphemy constituted the usual social code. His friendships have been of the most cosmopolitan order, so far as politics are concerned; and, if Lord Randolph Churchill was upon intimate terms with the Prince in days gone by, so also was Lord Rosebery. He attended the House of Lords during all important debates, but never voted upon party questions. One of the rare matters of a Parliamentary nature in which he shared was the prolonged agitation for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Upon this subject the Prince took strong ground and even used his personal influence.

His career as Prince of Wales can be summarized as in many ways a great one; while his character and life may be regarded as typical of a large English class, and as having made him a real leader of the people rather than of any parties or classes or divisions in their midst. He learned much from his father's teaching, much from his royal mother's example, much from his wife's co-operation and noble character. He has done much for the unity of the Empire, much for charity and the poor, much for industry and the workingman, much for society and sport.

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He has shared in many great events; encountered wide and varied experiences of life; participated in a multitude of gorgeous functions and ceremonies; seen many foreign and interesting lands; and has met the greatest and best, as well as the most curious and striking, men of recent years. He has worked hard at many things, and has acquired an influence in many directions which is more absolute than that of the Czar, and certainly more beneficial.

Speaking in April, 1894, Lord Herschell, then Lord Chancellor, referred to the Prince's willingness to assist every good and charitable cause. He expressed himself as having had

"peculiar reasons for knowing that His Royal Highness, when he thought a cause a good one, was not content with merely giving his occasional presence on State occasions, but found no details too irksome, no attention too great, if he could thereby promote the object in view."

But with all his laborious leadership in royal work, he has never lost his pleasure in the lighter side of life. It is, in fact, his many-sidedness to which he owes his success, and which has earned for him the right to a place among men who are great by personal power as well as by inherited rank. The new sovereign of the British Empire would be the last to claim personal greatness; but history will compare him favorably in his career, up to the present time, with the heirs to the throne in all past ages of English annals, and will point to his dignified, tactful, and useful tenure of an exceptionally difficult place during very many years of stirring and critical national life.

In shaping the destiny of England and the British Empire, partly by what he has done and partly by what he has not done, he has thus had no small share; and, with all his added powers and his great responsibilities, he can, in the future, do still more to weld together the Empire's vast imperial interests, to promote its social welfare, to elevate its masses and harmonize its classes, and to carry on the noble work of his mother by keeping the throne and the people in happy unison and loyal co-operation.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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WRITERS IN THE MARCH FORUM.

Sir John George Bourinot is a son of a native of the island of Jersey, and a Nova Scotian by birth. On his mother's side he is descended from Colonel Marshall, who fought on the side of the Loyalists during the War of the Revolution. He has been Chief Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada for many years, and has written several works on parliamentary government which are in constant use in the colonial dependencies of the Crown. In a series of "Studies on Comparative Politics," printed by the Royal Society of Canada, has made comparisons between the institutions of Canada and those of the United States. Is a contributor to the leading magazines. Is also the author of "The Story of Canada," in the "Nations" series, of "Canada under British Rule" in the Cambridge Historical Series, and of other works. Has been President and is now Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, and is also editor of its "Transactions." Is one of the few Canadians who have been honored by Queen Victoria with the distinction of a Knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Has been given honorary degrees by many universities, including French Laval. Has contributed several articles to The Forum which have been widely read and quoted.

Hon. Charles Denby, born in Virginia in 1830, was educated at Georgetown University and at the Virginian Military Institute, graduating from the latter in 1850. Was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, and Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. In 1885 Mr. Denby was appointed Minister to China, and remained at Pekin in that position until July, 1898. On his return was appointed by President McKinley a member of the Commission to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain. Served as a member of the Philippine Commission.

Mr. John Castell Hopkins, of English parentage, was born on April 1, 1864 and has lived in Canada since childhood. For some years in the service of the Imperial Bank, he left that institution in 1890 to become associate editor of the Toronto "Daily Empire." Was one of the earliest advocates of Imperial Federation, and became in 1889 one of the first Secretaries of the League in Canada. Also wrote many articles and pamphlets in connection with the subject, and is now a member of the Council of the British Empire League, which superseded the other organization. Mr. Hopkins has contributed many papers on the history and politics of the British Empire to leading English and American magazines. Among his published works are: "The Life and Work of Sir John Thompson" (1895); "The Life and Times of Mr. Gladstone" (1895); "The Sword of Islam; or, Suffering Armenia" (1896); and "Queen Victoria: Her Life and Reign" (1897). Has also published, with the assistance of many eminent writers and specialists, a "Canadian Encyclopædia" in six volumes, which affords a most comprehensive survey of Canadian history and Canadian affairs.

Mr. Herbert W. Horwill is a graduate of Oxford and London Universities in the highest classical honors (including the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford). Has contributed to the "Contemporary Review," and other leading publications. Recently came to the United States to engage in literary work.

Mr. Robert E. Lewis was born in Berkshire, Vermont, in 1869, and was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1892. In 1898 was appointed secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for China. Resides at present in Shanghai, where he has supervised the construction of a fine Christian Association building, and has rallied about him some of the finest young reform Chinese. In his capacity of Y. M. C. A. secretary, Mr. Lewis was allowed to enter Peking with the allies.

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MR. A. MAURICE LOW was born in London, and educated in London and Austria. Has been for several years the Washington correspondent of the Boston "Globe" and the London "Chronicle," and writes the monthly article on American affairs in "The National Review."

MR. WALTER B. SCAIFE was born in 1858, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Received the degree of Bachelor of Laws at the University of Michigan in 1880, and of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Vienna, Austria, in 1887. Is the author of "American Geographical History" and of "Florentine Life during the Renaissance."

MR. JACOB SCHOENHOF was born in Germany in 1839. Came to America in 1861, and was naturalized in 1866, following a commercial career up to 1885. His experience in trade and manufacturing soon brought him to recognize the antagonism of facts with the generally accepted economic views. As early as 1869 he published in German periodicals his views on the errors of economic theories. President Cleveland appointed him Consul to Tunstall, England, and gave him a commission to inquire into the state of technical education and the economy of production in Europe. Mr. Schoenhof is the author of "Wages and Trade" (1885); "The Economy of High Wages" (1892); "History of Money and Prices" (1896), etc.

ALICE IRWIN THOMPSON received her early education in northern Indiana, and later entered the Indiana State Normal School. In 1895 returned to her profession. With the exception of two years spent in teaching stenography in a business school, her work has been exclusively with the little people. Has been an occasional contributor to periodical literature.

MR. FELIX VOLKHOVSKY was one of the chief leaders of the revolutionary party in Russia, and is now among the most distinguished of Russia's political refugees. After having been several times imprisoned during the struggle which culminated in the assassination of Alexander II, he was finally banished for life to Siberia. Here he was seen by Mr. George Kennan, during his famous journey for investigating the exile system. Shortly afterward Mr. Volkhovsky made his escape, crossing Siberia eastward, and after many adventures succeeded in reaching Japan. He then crossed the Pacific, and after a brief stay in the United States and Canada settled down in London, where he became, after the death of Sergius Stepniak, the head of the Russian exile colony in London and editor of "Free Russia," the organ of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. Mr. Volkhovsky is a poet in his own language, and has done considerable writing in English.

MR. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST, a native of New York, is one of the best-known and ablest writers on political subjects at the National capital. For a number of years he has occupied an editorial position on the Washington "Post," in charge of the Congressional and political work.

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